



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Monday
12 August 1991

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IASD Congress Ends; Resolutions Passed 9 Aug

*MB0908191291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1848 GMT 9 Aug 91*

[Text] Harare Aug 9 SAPA—Delegates to the Inter-Africa Socialist and Democratic [IASD] Parties' Congress are angered by the South African Government's secret funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Zimbabwe National News Agency, ZIANA, reports. In resolutions passed at the close of a three-day summit on Friday, IASD said it had paid special attention to the situation in South Africa. "The congress expresses its anger to the South African administration's hidden fundings of Inkatha in order to create violence and create an obstruction to a peaceful settlement of the South African issue," said one resolution.

The congress also regretted that efforts made by the Mozambican Government to bring peace to that country had not met with success and called for more efforts to establish peace.

On the Palestinian issue, the congress reiterated its "unshakeable support" for the Palestinian people and condemned the violation of human rights by Israel in the occupied territories of Palestine, Lebanon and Syria. The congress recognised the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and encouraged efforts to convene a Middle East peace conference.

It also resolved to appeal to developed countries to bring an end to customs and other trade barriers which were obstacles to the development of the continent. The congress also said structural adjustment programmes must seek to initiate economic and social recovery.

Congress Reelects Diouf President

*MB0908191891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1855 GMT 9 Aug 91*

[Text] Harare Aug 9 SAPA—Senegalese President Abdou Diouf was on Friday unanimously re-elected president of the Inter-African Socialist Democratic Parties, while a Tunisian national, Tayeb Sahbani, was elected secretary general. The Zimbabwe National News Agency, ZIANA, reports that during elections at the end of the three-day summit of the parties, Egyptian Foreign Minister Bhutros Ghali proposed the re-election of Diouf of a decision which was unanimously adopted by the delegates from more than 20 parties at the conference.

Addressing the gathering shortly afterwards, Mr Diouf said the congress would be viewed as a turning point for the organisation. "It is a turning point because of the theme of democratic change and economic integration around which our debate revolved," he said.

The new secretary-general, who succeeds Sadok Fayal, said he would assume his new duties with "joy and fervour because there is nothing more noble than to devote oneself to the service of others".

African Central Bank Governors Conclude Meeting

*MB0208055491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2210 GMT 1 Aug 91*

[Text] Harare Aug 1 SAPA—Governors of African central banks on Thursday [1 August] ended their 12th regular meeting in Harare with a call for an increased flow of resources to support economic reforms on the continent, Zimbabwe's national news agency, ZIANA, reports.

In a communique released by the governor of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, Kombo Moyana, the governors said despite the tenacity and commitment to adjustments and reform, little progress had been made in arresting the protracted and deepening poverty in several African countries.

The governors reviewed recent world economic developments and a deteriorating economic situation in developing countries and noted that African countries were particularly affected by adverse external developments.

While recognising the merits of monetary integration for improving conditions for macro-economic stability and the facilitation of intra-African trade, participants stressed the importance of ensuring appropriate preconditions and policies for implementing such programmes.

Mr Moyana said some of the preconditions for monetary integration were the increase of trade among African countries, cross-border investment, the flow of labour among African states and encouraging joint ventures. "Gradually, you want to end at the harmonisation of financial resources and fiscal forces," he said.

Mr Moyana is the new chairman of the Association of African Central Banks and he said the meeting gave participants a chance to review the performance of the African Centre for Monetary Studies based in Dakar, Senegal.

*** Status of African Trade Unions Assessed**

*91AF1300A Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 4 Jul 91 p 19*

[Article by Drew Forrest: "Unions Lead Battle for Democracy"; first paragraph is THE WEEKLY MAIL introduction]

[Text] A newly published report throws harsh light on the widespread abuse of trade union rights in black Africa—but also underscores labour's vital role in the continent's fledgling democracy movement.

"The shadow cast by apartheid has for too long obscured the international community's perception of the extent of rights abuses in the rest of the African continent."

So comments John Vanderveken, general secretary of the 100-million-member International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in the preface to the ICFTU's 1991 survey of trade union rights violations.

Life is far from easy for South African unionists. But the report brings home that their plight is in many respects more bearable than that of African counterparts at the hands of African governments.

A vital lesson of the report for the "new South Africa" is the inseparable tie between political democracy and free unionism. Because of their professional interest in social justice, and the fact that they wield independent collective power, trade unions are invariably brought to heel by despotic regimes.

The ICFTU highlights the growing rebellion in Africa against state domination of the labour movement, and the spearhead role newly assertive unions are playing in the battle for multiparty democracy.

By comparison with South America, which the ICFTU identified as the world's most dangerous region for unionists, Africa's record is not too bad. One can only marvel at the tenacity of labour activists in Colombia: 138 were assassinated last year, often by death squads hired by drug barons and landowners.

In Africa, the ICFTU says, a key form of labour repression is the severe restriction or outright prohibition of strikes. General strike bans are in force in Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Liberia, Libya, Somalia and Sudan, while labyrinthine conciliation procedures in countries like Ivory Coast virtually rule out lawful strike action.

Eight officials of the Nigerian power union NEPU [expansion unavailable] were freed this year after receiving life sentences for their role in a 1988 strike action.

Bargaining rights are also subject to widespread violations, through demands that agreements meet government-set standards. In Zambia, the pending Salaries and Conditions of Service Commission Act requires state approval of agreements in the public and parastatal sectors.

Numerous African countries restrict international affiliation—in Nigeria, for example, only one union centre is permitted, and this may join international bodies only with the fiat of the military junta. Similar clamps apply in Swaziland, to ensure unions "do not join undesirable organisations."

In Botswana, often styled "Africa's Switzerland," legislation prohibits selected officials from working full time for unions.

The African country with the worst labour record is Sudan, whose military regime dissolved all unions, confiscated their assets, banned strikes and detained and dismissed many unionists after seizing power in 1989.

The ICFTU estimates that up to 300 Sudanese unionists were in detention at the end of last year, many subject to torture and mistreatment in the notorious Shala prison. A member of the Sudan Doctors' Union, Dr. Ali Fadul,

was tortured to death last April, and another doctor, sentenced to death for his role in organising a strike, was pardoned only after world pressure.

The Sudanese government is currently promoting "union preparatory and steering committees," claiming unions are being reactivated. These operate under close state control.

In Liberia, unionists have been prominent victims of "massive and appalling" human rights abuses during the civil war, with many killed, missing or dying of hunger. The headquarters of the ICFTU-linked national union centre was ransacked and damaged by rocket fire.

But the picture is not an unremittingly sombre one. African workers, Vanderveken comments, "have taken a courageous lead in freeing themselves of systems that institutionalise rights violations as a virtue and precondition of development, and rejecting the notion that lingers in the deepest recesses of some colonialist mentalities that Africa is not ready for democracy."

Clearly influenced by events in Eastern Europe, national union centres in Algeria, Benin, Congo, Mali and Niger are throwing off state shackles. Tanzania's President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has publicly backed the reorganisation of the national union federation as an independent, democratic body without ties to the ruling party.

Elsewhere, for example in Mozambique and Zaire, unions have sprung up outside officially approved structures.

Significantly, the battle for union rights has broadened organically into a campaign for political pluralism and representative rule.

Mali's union centre, the UNTM [National Union of Mali Workers], spearheaded the pro-democracy movement, and in March this year launched a general strike which toppled the 25-year dictatorship of General Moussa Traore. In Congo, political parties were legalised after rolling strikes by the formerly state-dominated CSC [Congoese Trade Union Confederation] union grouping.

Battle has also been joined in Zambia, where according to the ICFTU the government has reacted to the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions' [ZCTU] vanguard role in the campaign for multiparty democracy by tightening the screws on labour.

The country's new Industrial Relations Act, it says, interferes in unions' internal affairs, undermines bargaining and strike rights, exposes unions to administrative dissolution and allows for the arrest without warrant of anyone suspected of breaching a ban on essential service strikes.

Particularly offensive, it says, is a provision presuming all unions to have disaffiliated from the ZCTU, and requiring a two thirds majority for any decision to re-affiliate.

Cameroon

Biya on Settling Border Issues With Nigeria

AB1108193091 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
0730 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] Cameroonian President Paul Biya returned to Yaounde yesterday after a short working visit to Abuja, Nigeria. The Cameroonian president met with President Babangida and discussed with him the demarcation of the border line between Cameroon and Nigeria, a topical issue, seeing as only last week Nigeria was accusing Cameroon of purely and simply annexing half a dozen Nigerian villages situated at the border.

Reviewing the outcome of his working visit, the Cameroonian head of state said that this problem must and will be resolved in view of the quality and nature of relations existing between Cameroon and Nigeria. The quality of relations is not very clear, and one must be very careful. Here we listen to President Paul Biya.

[Begin Biya recording] I would like to point out here that we in Cameroon attach the greatest importance to a good relationship, good neighborly relations between the Federal Republic of Nigeria and us because we are sister countries. Both of us share common borders with the same ethnic groups and the same religions. This is an important problem, a priority one. We have commercial relations. So we want relations between our two countries, and our viewpoints to converge. This is why each time there is a problem we intend to resolve it rapidly through diplomatic channels. You know, however, that we have a very long border and that we are not spared from petty incidents. The president and myself have once again decided that border authorities from both countries will always meet rapidly to resolve the existing petty incidents in the same spirit of fraternity and friendship. These are the instructions that I have given at the border posts, and we will see to it that the instructions are implemented. [end recording]

PRC Signs 3 Billion CFA Franc Loan Agreement

AB0808220091 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network
in French 1900 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Three billion CFA [African Financial Community] francs [about 10-million dollars] is the total amount of a loan agreement signed this evening between the PRC and the Republic of Cameroon. The documents were signed for the PRC by (Yang Fuchang), vice minister of foreign affairs, and for Cameroon by Moussa Tchouta, minister of planning and regional development. [passage omitted]

The 3-billion franc loan obtained today from the PRC will contribute to the implementation of projects in the various developmental sectors: the Lamdo agricultural development project, mushroom production, food production at Obala, and the renovation of the Congress Palace in Yaounde. [passage omitted]

Congo

PANA Views Aftermath of National Conference

AB0808094591 Dakar PANA in English 1208 GMT
5 Aug 91

[By Auguste Mpassi-Muba]

[Text] Dakar, 5 Aug. (PANA)—For some weeks now, there appears to be a veritable tug-of-war between the Congolese head of state and the transitional government formed in Brazzaville after the national conference—a pointer to the uneasy co-habitation the country is going through.

According to information reaching PANA in Dakar, the High Council of the Republic (parliament) during its recent session authorised the transitional government to institute legal actions against Congolese implicated in economic scandals, embezzlement and mismanagement of public funds. During the national conference, President Nguesso and his close associates were implicated in scandals and fraudulent acts at the customs department, while several leaders of the Congolese Workers' Party were also named in sundry acts connected with looting of the state. The ad-hoc committee charged with documenting the economic scandals did recommend to the national conference to slam a fine of one billion francs on the head of state for allowing the customs duties racket involving Lebanese traders.

Besides, several leaflets circulates in Brazzaville before and after the national conference and reported by many local newspapers, reeled out figures of large sums of money stashed away in foreign banks by officials of the Congolese Workers' Party (PCT)—the country's former sole political party. Suggestions by some members of the higher council that the head of state be put under arrest was met with defiance by Nguesso who threatened to institute court action against anyone who continued to insult his person. The financial problems besetting the transition government, especially its inability to ensure regular payment of workers' salaries, were anticipated in measures taken by the council. But the lack of a mechanism for dialogue between the Presidency and the authorities must have helped worsen the relations and underscore certain actions by the government which President Sassou-Nguesso finds unacceptable.

Among the actions are the decision to disband the Presidential Guard and integrate its 600 men and officers into the Army. So far, only a quarter of the soldiers have so far been absorbed. Moreover, the recalling of 11 out of 21 Congolese ambassadors—mostly relations and people close to the president—were seen by the president as a direct challenge over his constitutional right and prerogatives to appoint ambassadors. The decision to restore diplomatic relations with Israel, without President Sassou-Nguesso's knowledge constituted an embarrassment to the president in view of his special ties with a number of Arab heads of state.

But Andre Milongo's transition government is often compelled to act according to the wish of the people, angered by the behavior of former leaders and heads of state, who no sooner than the national conference ended resorted to their former way of life. The people also see the several burglaries at the ministries from where important documents disappeared as acts carried out by party men and aimed at destroying documents that might implicate the former regime. All these actions further complicate the already tense relations between the Presidency and the head of government.

Zaire

Cabinet Calls for Truce During National Conference

LD1008144391 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television Network in French 1230 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The members of the government met on Friday, 9 August, at their usual meeting place in the presence of Prime Minister Mulumba Lukoji. Taking advantage of the few days remaining until 12 August 1991, the date of the effective start of the sovereign national conference, they discussed mainly the ways and means of remedying certain problems arising here and there in the logistics of this conference, whose historic importance needs no emphasis.

Among these problems was the identification of representatives of the social-professional group called Civil Society. The government wants to make it clear that regarding Kinshasa, Civil Society is itself responsible for the existing confusion. The government has been informed that Civil Society at its own initiative and in the name of criteria of selection and participation in the work of the national conference has received a sum of money from many associations claiming to belong to this social-professional category. [passage omitted]

Instead of being content with its 330 delegates, the Civil Society has presented a list of 1372 people in Kinshasa alone, thus disregarding or minimizing the importance of voices from the country. Faced with such disorder, the government is forced to act to guarantee the observance of quotas decided by the Preparatory Committee.

Regarding the general climate that should surround the work of the national sovereign conference, the government once more calls for everybody's positive contribution to achieve a relaxation of tension in the political and social life of Zaire. The government thus appeals to public opinion: political parties, public institutions, civil societies and associations, national and international mass media.

Regarding foreign mass media, the Council of Ministers has condemned the obvious nonobservance of the elementary rules of journalistic ethics by an RFI correspondent who in her reportage on events in Zaire shows herself to be irresponsible, subjective, and rumormongering. One can only agree with us that all these facts are likely to harm truth and mislead both national and

international public opinion. Due to the recurrent character of transgressions by the RFI correspondent, the government has decided to punish this journalist with an interdiction of stay in Zaire.

In an attempt to create an environment suitable for national reconciliation, a preliminary condition for the reconstruction of the country, the Council of Ministers calls on the entire population of Zaire to declare a general truce for the duration of the national conference, a truce regarding strikes, a truce regarding insults and provocations, a truce regarding the organization of demonstrations in public places.

The government calls on the population to show even more tolerance, mutual respect, and national concord. In this respect, the Council of Ministers sincerely thanks the churches, political parties, the young and other active forces of the nation who in their statements and messages addressed to the government preach peace, optimism, and faith for the country's future. [passage omitted]

Representation at National Conference Viewed

LD1208094191 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] In Zaire, the national conference delegates will meet in Kinshasa today. Nevertheless, the time has not yet come to tackle the heart of the debate. The questions of who should participate and who represents what have not been resolved. More details from Caroline Dumet:

[Dumet] The first hurdle the delegates will have to overcome is the list of delegates, because questions concerning representatives are far from being resolved. According to the preparatory committee, 2,850 delegates are empowered to sit—1,100 for the Civil Society, 900 for the political parties and 750 for public institutions. This has been rejected by the Sacred Union, a rally of some 200 opposition political parties and organizations. For the latter, public institutions are over represented and the quota allocated to political parties is wrong—four delegates for each political parties. This is insufficient for some.

Finally, there is the Civil Society and its two competing lists. Dr Numbi, who could not enter the conference, states his list is more representative than the one officially accredited. In short, it is very likely that once all or nearly all the members of the assembly are [word indistinct] they might be contested. In Congo, procedural issues lasted three weeks.

Opposition Group: Mobutu Manipulating Conference

AB1108082091 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 9 Aug 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Zaire's national conference might be under way, but it seems there are plenty of opposition people who still view it all with grave suspicion, and do believe

President Mobutu is still manipulating proceedings for his own ends. One such group actually staged a march in Kinshasa yesterday, attacking President Mobutu and the allocation of seats at the national conference in no uncertain terms, as Busongo Buyemi reports in this telex from Kinshasa:

[Begin studio announcer recording] The march from the Zoological Gardens to the People's Palace Conference Center was organized by the Civil Society Organization led by Dr. (Numbie). The demonstrators claimed that the Civil Society had been sidelined at the national conference in order to allow representatives of the ruling MPR [Popular Movement of the Revolution] Party to dominate the proceedings.

They held banners which said: "Down With the Dictatorship of the MPR" and "Down With Violence." Other slogans called for the Army to work with the people. They denounced what they called social injustice and illegal enrichment. Dr. (Numbie) said that the government of President Mobutu had recruited numerous delegates from the countryside to pack the national conference and support MPR positions. He also denounced the lack of coverage of the activities of his Civil Society Organization on the national radio and television stations. The marchers were dispersed by the security forces when they reached the People's Palace. The march took place after the governor of the City of Kinshasa had refused to allow the Civil Society Organization to hold a meeting at the Zoological Gardens where yesterday's march began.

Meanwhile, normally well-informed sources say that the current negotiations between the government and the opposition party, the Union for Democracy and Social Progress, are in danger of reaching an impasse if the government does not settle the crisis engendered by the demands of Dr. (Numbie)'s Civil Society to be represented at what it sees as an appropriate level at the national conference.

The national conference is due to start again next Monday [12 August], but could be endangered if this issue is not settled. Yesterday's demonstration march was one of a series planned by Dr. (Numbie)'s Civil Society in order to, in the opposition's words, make the government see reason. [end recording]

Government Cancels University Academic Year

*AB1108073591 Dakar PANA in English 1836 GMT
9 Aug 91*

[Text] Kinshasa, 9 Aug (PANA)—The Zairian Government announced Thursday [8 August] the cancellation of the University of Kinshasa academic year, which has theoretically ended according to the official calendar. The move did not come as a surprise in view of the turbulent 1990-1991 academic year characterised by violent clashes between students and the police and strikes by lecturers. The new academic year for 1991-92 is expected to start mid-November 1991.

Djibouti

Last of Ethiopian Weapons Said Returned

EA1108195591 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali
1700 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] The last batch of Ethiopian weapons, including armored vehicles and personnel carriers, were today handed over to the Ethiopian Government at the Shaykh Uthman Military Barracks in Djibouti. Also returned were 15,000 (?assault rifles) consisting of light weapons and bullets.

During the handover ceremony at the Shaykh Uthman Military Barracks, Colonel Umar Barreh, the acting defense commander and Mr. (Jawada) Farah, the acting permanent secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, signed on behalf of the Republic of Djibouti, while Ibrahim Abd al-Kalil, Ethiopian Government representative, and Wosen Besha, the Ethiopian ambassador to Djibouti, signed on behalf of their government.

Voluntary Repatriation for Ethiopians Viewed

EA1108073091 Paris AFP in English 1803 GMT
10 Aug 91

[Text] Nairobi, Aug 10 (AFP)—Hundreds of Ethiopian refugees who fled to Djibouti after the fall of dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam in May have returned home in the past few days under a voluntary repatriation scheme, Radio Djibouti said in a report monitored here Saturday [10 August]. "The voluntary repatriation, which began on Thursday, will continue for a month," the radio said.

It said more than 4,000 men, women and children have been officially registered to return for resettlement in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, and in Dire Dawa, 360 kilometres (225 miles) to the east. The radio said 22 military planes used by the refugees to flee to Djibouti were returned to Ethiopia on Thursday.

Ethiopia

Cabinet Formed; Names of Ministers Listed

AB1108162291 Paris AFP in English 1029 GMT
11 Aug 91

[Text] Addis Ababa, Aug 11 (AFP)—Ethiopian Prime Minister Tamrat Layne on Sunday [11 August] formed a new cabinet, confirming acting Foreign Minister Seyoum Mesfin in his post. Formation of the new government followed approval of its members Saturday by the council of representatives. The council is acting as parliament until elections to be held two years hence.

Tamrat said the ministers were chosen with a view to making the government representative of Ethiopia's various ethnic groups and religions and, as far as possible, its women. A woman, Dr Adanetch Kidane-Mariam, was

named health minister. The key economy and finances post was left unfilled. Tamrat said a minister would be named in the coming days.

Included in the cabinet are two members of the last government named under deposed President Mengistu Haile-Mariam. That government was formed by former Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinka a fortnight before Addis Ababa fell to the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front and never functioned.

The new cabinet list is:

- Shifferaw Wolde-Michael - Justice
- Dimma Nego - Information
- Seyoum Mesfin - Foreign Affairs
- Adanetch Kidane-Mariam - Health
- Ibssa Goutema - Education
- Bekele Tadesse - Industry
- Kuma Demekssa - Interior
- Izedin Ali - Energy and Mines
- Ahmed Hussein - Trade
- Hassen ad Abdelah - State Farms and Coffee and Tea Development
- Seye Abrahah - Defence
- Tsegaye Asfaw - Agriculture and Environment
- Aragaw Tirunch - Housing and Urban Affairs
- Leoule Selassie Tememao - Culture and Sports
- Negasso Gidada - Labour and Social Affairs
- Belatchew Mekbeb - Transport and Communications

Provisional Government Views Eritrean Relations

EA1108074091 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia
Network in Amharic 1720 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Statement issued by the Provisional Government of Ethiopia on displaced Eritreans on 8 August—read by announcer]

[Excerpts] It has been three months since the war which raged between the Ethiopian Government and the Eritrean people for the last 30 years and caused both sides unimaginable losses ended through the struggle of peace-loving forces. Through various steps taken by the governments established in Ethiopia and Eritrea, it was decided that the Eritrean people's right to self-determination should be respected in order to heal the 30-year-old wound, to keep this problem from recurring, and so that the rights of the Eritrean people to decide their own fate should be respected. [passage omitted].

As is known, the propaganda that whatever government is established in Eritrea will close the Ethiopian port and expose us to problems has been disproven by the current situation. The agreement and cooperation that has allowed Asseb port to be used freely by Ethiopia is proof of this fact. The Ethiopian provisional government's unconditional respect for the Eritrean people's rights for the sake of preserving the rights of all Ethiopian people, and the readiness of the provisional government of Eritrea to cooperate with the provisional government in many sectors for the benefit of the Eritrean people are further proof of the above fact. All of these are steps toward

opening a new chapter for the mutual progress and prosperity of both the Ethiopian and Eritrean peoples.

The agreement between the transitional government of Ethiopia and the provisional government of Eritrea, based on the interest of the peoples, is very encouraging. This being the fact, there have been damaging rumors in the hinterland regarding some steps taken by the provisional government in Eritrea recently. There are rumors circulating which could spoil the good relations between the two peoples without any clear understanding of the steps taken by the provisional government of Eritrea.

As is clear to all, the overthrown Ethiopian Government, as it had done in other parts of Ethiopia, had entrenched its huge kidnapping institutions in Eritrea and conducted great atrocities against the people. It had deployed a very modern and well-armed Army of not less than 150,000, which was authorized to take any action at any time against the Eritreans. [passage omitted] The situation created soon after the downfall of the atrocious regime in Ethiopia and Eritrea forced the people to recall the atrocities and to ask for compensation and the return of people's illegally acquired property, and was a situation whereby those who had barbarously slaughtered people would be judged by the people. The current situation in Eritrea and Ethiopia clearly manifests this. [passage omitted]

The situation in Eritrea and Ethiopia is completely different from one of revenge. The provisional government established in Eritrea has not mistreated the Dergue army, which had committed atrocities against the Eritreans, or the security personnel and the mafia groups of Tesfaye Gebre Kidan. In fact, the steps taken by the government soothe popular anger, save the lives of the atrocious people from any type of mass action, and protect them.

In this respect, the Eritrean provisional government mapped out a policy to evacuate Dergue personnel from the institutions of kidnapping and killing from Eritrea. In this respect, those affected by this policy of evacuation from Eritrea were members of the Dergue army, workers of the Dergue's institutions of kidnapping and killings, and members of the (?mafia) group established by Tesfaye Gebre Kidan. They were told to move out because of their anti-people activities, and those civilians whose job opportunities were blocked in Eritrea have been sent to places where there are job prospects instead of staying in Eritrea without any employment. When this policy was being issued, all these people were permitted to leave with their wealth and property. [passage omitted]

The steps taken by the provisional government of Eritrea are to give 1,000 birr in cash and an additional draft to those who deposited their money in banks. Those who deposited money in banks would have been allowed to withdraw the money by the provisional government of Eritrea, but the banks were bankrupt and the alternative was to issue a draft. When the financial situation in Eritrea improved, the draft could then be shown and the money collected. [passage omitted including passage

indistinct] Those who have been unable to find any flaws in the constructive steps taken by the transitional government and the provisional government in Eritrea have engaged in rumormongering. They are working hard to intensify the rift between the two peoples by exaggerating issues. To take advantage of this situation, these forces are working hard to bring as witnesses some of the displaced people from Eritrea who are not in a position to give a balanced assessment of the situation. These forces are fanning denigration, setting aside their hatred in the belief that this propaganda mission serves their interests best. [passage omitted]

Hence, the Ethiopian people should reject these baseless rumors so as to renew the relations with their Eritrean brothers which were severed by the atrocities of the Ethiopian kings. We should not allow the forces which committed atrocities against us in the name of the people to take advantage of our innocence and to aggravate our wounds. It is only by warding off baseless and divisive propaganda that we can create understanding among peoples. Long live the brotherhood of the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples. [Issued] 8 August 1991
[Signed] The transitional government of Ethiopia.

Radio Details Materiel Returning From Djibouti

EA1108072591 *Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia*
Network in Amharic 1000 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Fighters, transport planes, helicopters, and other weapons which had been taken to Djibouti at the end of our country's civil war are being returned to Ethiopia. The equipment in the Republic of Djibouti includes four MiG-23BN fighter jets, one L-39 trainer aircraft, one Cessna, six helicopter gunships, six transport helicopters, and two multipurpose Alouette-III helicopters. In addition, heavy artillery, which had been in a different part of Djibouti belonging to the ground forces, included 34 T-62 and T-55 tanks and about 86 various military and civil transport vehicles.

In accordance with the Djibouti Government's promise to hand over the property to the transitional government of Ethiopia, the agreement was translated into action in the middle of last week, and technicians have been sent to the Republic of Djibouti to repair the equipment. [passage omitted]

Government Objections to Oromo Organizations Scored

EA1008225091 *(Clandestine) Voice of Oromo*
Liberation in Oromo 1000 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Part One of Commentary: "To Be Organized Politically Will Strengthen Unity of Origin"]

[Excerpts] A nation is and can be an organization by virtue of its origin. The nation that is united by virtue of its origin can work together for its [word indistinct]. [passage omitted]

One of the points agreed upon at the [Ethiopian unity] conference was the right to be organized. Human rights and democracy are related, and one of the points agreed upon is the right to be organized and to decide our one destiny and even independence. Efforts are being made to work together on issues to bring together organizations and to implement what was agreed upon at the conference. This is why we say that the conference held in Addis Ababa opened the way for a transition toward democracy. After adopting the charter, however, contradictions have emerged within just one month. [passage omitted]

The organization of the Oromo nation, however, is being challenged in its own way. Ethiopian radio in its (?commentary) in the Oromo program broadcast on 6 and 7 August in the evening and morning officially revealed its objections to the Oromos' being organized. As the aim for domination of the Oromo nation has a long history, as is the claim that they think for the Oromo nation, we shall leave this. It is shameful for them to claim that they stand for the rights of the Oromos, while they tell the Oromos not to organize themselves. We leave it to our listeners to decide for themselves what the commentary revealed. Why does the Ethiopian radio Oromo program tell Oromos not to organize themselves? How can an organized nation coordinate its forces and its economy to struggle for its rights? Above all, why is the decision which is not even a month old being challenged? We will give (?answers) to these questions in our next program and you, too, will assess them.

Second Commentary

EA1108064791 (Clandestine) Voice of Oromo
Liberation in Oromo 1000 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Part Two of Commentary: "To Be Organized Politically Will Strengthen Unity of Origin"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The aim of a political organization in any particular nation is to struggle for respect for the rights of that nation and to be at the front line of that nation. The goal of such a front is to oppose any form of oppression and to enable the nation to establish its own government through the nation's self-determination and also to be able to coexist with other people by means of the people's choice. [passage omitted]

One of the political organizations of the Oromo nation organizing the Oromos from the grass roots up to the top is the Oromo Liberation Front [OLF]. [passage omitted] We have no doubt that other Oromo organizations also support this cause. The objective of the OLF, which is supported and implemented by the Oromo people, will be accepted by the four other Oromo organizations, and we believe that they will take part in its implementation. This is our hope, too. Furthermore, the five Oromo organizations must fight together against the idea that organizing the Oromos will earmark them for oppression. To be organized does not expose a nation to

oppression—instead, it is disorganization that makes it a victim of oppression. Opposing the organization of the Oromo nation is tantamount to earmarking the Oromo nation for oppression, and we shall stand together against that. What type of organization is to be opposed? We will present this in part three.

Kenya

Moi Discusses Foreign Reporters, BCCI

EA0708221591 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting
Corporation Network in English 0900 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Speech by President Moi at opening ceremony of the Trade Bank Center in Nairobi—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On this point would I like to touch briefly on the crisis facing the Bank of Credit and Commerce International in so far as it concerns Kenya. The bank's problems are of international concern and proportion, but I am happy to note that the local branch of BCCI has now been taken over and will be managed and controlled by Kenyans, or rather by Kenyan businessmen. This action will ensure retention of jobs by our people and the employment of more in future. [applause] I am opening this [bank] not because I don't have something to do; I came to open this particular building because we need more buildings, we need to generate jobs. By opening this means more people will be employed. And, I hope Kenya being a stable country, and I am given to understand that there are foreign correspondents here in Kenya. I would like to tell them that the things they write to overseas are not the things they see here. They better walk around.

We are peaceful Kenyans, and our desire is peace. Our desire is to secure jobs. We have a policy that attracts investors. Those who would like to invest their money here, we welcome them, and if they go round they will see buildings going up and so on.

Buildings cannot go up in a country which is unstable. They go up because the country is stable, its people are hard-working people and, therefore, foreign correspondents, and Nairobi is famous, it is serving all the correspondents from all over East and Central Africa here in Nairobi, and unfortunately they don't report anything good about Kenya. [sentence as heard]

Despite the fact that they are here and staying here in a peaceful country, they don't want to report anything good about Kenya, except bad things, international human rights, what have you. And there are people who are reporting as to how many thousands they have killed. Why don't they go to those countries that are proud of having killed so many thousands of people.

Finally with regard to Trade Bank, I have been assured of good management, what is needed today is good management, and I hope this will provide protection against financial pitfalls which other banks have fallen into in the past. In this respect I wish the bank every success. On this note I now declare the Trade Bank Center officially opened. Thank you. [applause]

Moi Comments on Foreigners With 'Evil Intentions'

EA1008061091 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1300 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Excerpts] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today said the promotion of teachers and headmasters or headmistresses must at all times be based on merit. The president noted that promotion of anyone into a position of responsibility should be based on merit and not politics or favoritism, saying some people tended to use personal friendship as the basis for promotion. [passage omitted]

President Moi was addressing the nation when he attended the silver jubilee anniversary celebrations of Juwaka girls secondary school in Nyilima, Raraita in Siaya district. [passage omitted]

President Moi said in matters of development everyone had a role to play. He said even churches help in the development of schools and other institutions and were part of district development committees in the country. He said peace was, however, needed for the country to develop and called for unity in order to improve the welfare of wananchi [citizens]. President Moi told leaders, wananchi, and government officials living in border areas to be on the lookout for foreigners who may attempt to enter the country with evil intentions. He said Kenya did not harbor any dissidents from neighboring countries. He said the government aimed at ensuring there was peace in the country and would never engage in any action which would endanger the lives of Kenyans.

He said some countries which had experimented with multiparty politics were now in chaos and fighting was the order of the day. He said Kenya will not undertake such costly experiments, saying that human life was sacred and the country did not have surplus people to sacrifice in political gambling.

He said peace was what Kenyans needed most so that the country could develop and the youth also grow to take its rightful place in national development. [passage omitted]

Government Denies Border Attack Into Uganda

EA0808175591 Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 8 Aug 91 p 28

[David Rogoncho article: "Kenya Denies Claims of Raiding Uganda" by David Rogoncho]

[Text] Kenya last night denied allegations published in a Ugandan newspaper that a band of armed Kenyan forces

last week killed five Ugandans and wounded eight others in a cross-border raid into eastern Uganda.

The permanent secretary for foreign affairs and international co-operation, Mr Bethuel Kiplagat, told the "NATION" by telephone from his office that the Kenya Government had no knowledge of the alleged incident, reported in yesterday's issue of the Ugandan government-controlled newspaper, the "NEW VISION".

The western provincial commissioner [pc], Mr Francis Lekolool, termed the report as untrue and malicious.

Mr Lekolool said: "The information we have as of now is that last week the Ugandans stole between 20 and 30 cattle from Mount Elgon and seriously injured one administration police (officer) and another regular police."

The pc said two Ugandans were killed and that their colleagues sneaked back to the area and carried the bodies away. He said the raiders were suspected to be members of the National Revolutionary Army (NRA).

The "NEW VISION" also alleged that a Kenyan was killed in a shootout with the Ugandan security forces in the Burkwa district.

A Ugandan MP, Mr Stephen Chebrot, claimed that about 300 armed men wearing the General Service Unit (GSU) uniform shot dead five people inside Uganda.

BCCI Said To Sell Operations to Businessman

AB0808081091 Paris AFP in English 0937 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Text] Nairobi, Aug 6 (AFP)—The scandal-hit Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) is selling its Kenyan operations to a local businessman, newspapers reported here Tuesday. The governor of Kenya's Central Bank, Eric Kotut, was quoted as saying that Kenyan businessman Ketan Somaia and his London-based Driscoll Investments and Dolphin Group would buy BCCI's operations in this East African nation. The reports did not indicate the price of the deal. Last month, Somaia bought BCCI's operations on the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius for an undisclosed sum. The Bank of England closed BCCI on July 5, saying it had uncovered evidence of massive fraud. It has allegedly laundered drug money and acted as banker for terrorist groups.

KANU Member Suspended for Joining Odinga Forum

EA0808084591 Nairobi KTN Television in English 0500 GMT 6 Aug 91

[From the press review]

[Text] The condemnation of the [former vice-president Odinga] Odinga Forum [for the Restoration of Democracy—FORD] recently established under the initials

FORD appears on page one of the KENYA TIMES. The paper reports that the registrar [general] has declared the Forum illegal.

The NATION reports on its back page that the Mombasa Kenya African National Union [Kenya African National Union] branch has suspended for two years Councillor Ahmed Salim Bamahriz for his links to the FORD Forum. THE STANDARD has the story on page two.

Outgoing Swazi Envoy Praises One-Party System

*AB1108074591 Nairobi KNA in English 1420 GMT
9 Aug 91*

[Excerpts] Nairobi, 9th August (KNA) The outgoing [Swaziland] high commissioner to Kenya, Mr. Harry Mabuza, has praised "one-party democracy in Africa" and stressed that it has played an important role of unifying the people wherever it is practised.

Mr. Mabuza was speaking at a farewell luncheon hosted in his honour by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation at a Nairobi hotel. Mr. Mabuza added: "Personally, I strongly support one-party democracy because experience has shown that it is very ideal for Africans." On trade between Kenya and Swaziland, Mr. Mabuza said that the two countries have yet to balance the trade so that it is suitable to the two nations. He said that his country would like to sell more coal to Kenya and expressed the hope that the two countries will find ways of increasing and balancing the trade. Speaking at the same occasion, an assistant minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation,

Mr. Chris Obure, praised Mr. Mabuza for working hard to cement the existing good relations between the two countries. [passage omitted]

On cooperation between the two countries, Mr. Obure said that as the general political environment in southern Africa continues to improve with the political changes in the Republic of South Africa, "We look forward to greater cooperation between our two countries in all fields of human endeavour." [passage omitted]

Tanzania

President Receives Invitation to Libyan Fete

*AB1108205091 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
External Service in Swahili 1000 GMT 11 Aug 91*

[Excerpts] Dar es Salaam: President Ali Hassan Mwinyi today received a special message from the Libyan leader, Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi. The message was delivered to President Mwinyi at state house this morning by the Libyan leader's special envoy, who is that country's ambassador in Addis Ababa, Mr. Khalifah (Badhiliyah).

The message is an invitation to President Mwinyi to go to Libya during the celebrations for commissioning the first phase of the [great] man-made river project. [passage omitted]

During the talks, President Mwinyi highly commended Mr. al-Qadhdhafi for the good utilization of the citizens' resources in the construction of the river which, he said, would be a good expression of development for African nations and the world as a whole.

'Siege Atmosphere' Prevails in Ventersdorp 9 Aug

*MB0908163091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1620 GMT 9 Aug 91*

[Text] Ventersdorp Aug 9 SAPA—A siege atmosphere pervaded the right-wing town of Ventersdorp in the western Transvaal where State President F.W. de Klerk was scheduled to address a National Party [NP] meeting on Friday evening.

SAPA's journalists reported several hundred policemen had converged on Ventersdorp by early Friday afternoon to guard Kommando Hall where Mr de Klerk was scheduled to arrive by helicopter.

Policemen were searching and questioning everyone trying to enter the hall. It appeared as if only National Party members were allowed into the hall. By about 5.30PM, the hall was already filling up with party faithfuls. Police, armed and carrying gas masks, set up road blocks on all roads leading into the town. Motorists entering Ventersdorp were questioned at length. Casspirs with water cannon and tear gas nozzles were seen patrolling the town. Streets were cordoned off with razorwire, while members of the SAP [South African Police] dog patrol unit walked the streets with their snarling, barking guard dogs.

The police presence and rightwingers flocking into the town was causing tension to rise in the town. Many local residents told SAPA they were surprised by the large police presence.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement, AWB] leader Mr Eugene Terre'blanche will be addressing an AWB meeting at 7.30PM, the same time Mr de Klerk will be speaking in the city hall a few blocks away.

AWB posters around the town and the roads leading to it proclaimed "Terre'blanche roep regses op". (Terre'blanche calls all rightwingers).

Rumours were rife among the police contingent that the AWB would stage a march to the city hall later on Friday evening. However, an AWB spokesman denied this, saying their scheduled march had been prohibited by a local magistrate. "We are law abiding citizens. The march has been called off," the spokesman said.

The event has attracted a large contingent of local and international journalists.

—Meanwhile, Captain Craig Kotze of the Ministry of Law and Order told SAPA four men, apparently AWB members, were arrested for wearing military uniforms. They were handed over to military police. An AWB spokesman said the arrests were "provocative". "The men were simply wearing military-style uniforms which can be bought in many shops," the spokesman said.

'Scores' Injured in Clashes

*MB0908200491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1915 GMT 9 Aug 91*

[Text] Ventersdorp Aug 9 SAPA—At least one person may have been killed and scores injured during battles between Afrikaners and police which broke out in Ventersdorp on Friday evening. The injured were said to have been taken to Klerksdorp Hospital. SAPA has been unable to get confirmation of dead and injured.

The shooting war between about 2,000 AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] supporters and an equal number of policemen broke out shortly before State President F.W. de Klerk was due to address about 400 National Party supporters in the well-guarded Kommando Hall.

SAPA reports three of the injured were black whose bakkie crashed into a wall after it was repeatedly shot at from AWB ranks. The bakkie was totally destroyed. Police confirmed a group of AWB men shot at the bakkie, dragged the occupants out of the vehicle and assaulted them.

Police tried to rescue the black people, but were shot at. Six policemen were injured, one of them seriously. They were admitted to Ventersdorp Hospital. Police said the seriously injured policeman may have died, but they could not confirm this yet.

However, an ambulance which arrived to take away the injured black people, refused to transport them. The injured men were eventually taken in a Transvaal Provincial Administration ambulance.

One AWB supporter said: "Laat daardie kaffers mos sterf (let those kaffirs die)."

While Mr de Klerk was delivering his speech, a heavy police contingent surrounded the Kommando Hall. On the nearby main road through Ventersdorp, vehicles carrying black passengers were being stoned by AWB members.

De Klerk 'Shocked' at CP, AWB 'Threats'

*MB0908193891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1930 GMT 9 Aug 91*

[Text] Ventersdorp Aug 9 SAPA—It was a tragic day for South Africa "that people shoot at the custodians of law and order" for doing their duty. State President F.W. de Klerk said on Friday night in Ventersdorp.

Addressing 1,600 people in the town shortly after incidents involving AWB [Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging; Afrikaner Resistance Movement] members and police, Mr de Klerk said he would not apologise for using the police to safeguard the meeting.

The meeting has been violently opposed by the AWB which has led to clashes battles [as received] between the

rightwing group and police guarding Kommando Hall where Mr de Klerk is addressing National Party [NP] supporters.

He said the government would supply police protection to any party that needed it from "people who do not know how to behave themselves".

The text of his speech was sent to SAPA earlier on Friday evening. In it Mr de Klerk launched a hardnosed attack on the Conservative Party [CP], the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and other rightwing groups for "looking for trouble".

Mr de Klerk said controversy surrounding the National Party meeting had not been the fault of the NP—"but instead had been instigated by the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and their friends".

"If there is to be confrontation tonight, which I hope will not happen, then they must carry the full responsibility," Mr de Klerk warned.

He said he was "shocked by the viciousness and threats of the past few days, and I know many CP supporters are shocked with me and concerned".

He appealed to the Christian ethic of the CP and AWB supporters and said if they were serious about their faith, they should turn away from the unacceptable statements and actions of their leaders and some party members.

"Are you going to say that you tried to calm the wild elements and still continue to remain with them. Last night it was Boksburg, tonight Ventersdorp, tomorrow where will it be?" He asked.

He said excuse often used by the CP for excesses, such as in Ventersdorp on Friday, was that the NP was no longer speaking to Afrikaners, but was only talking to the African National Congress.

"That is a blatant untruth, and moderate Conservative Party members should take note of this. I have spoken to Eugene Terre'blanche and Jaap Marais (of the Herstigte Nasionale Party [Reformed National Party]) in my office."

Reacts to Clashes

MB1008054891 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0500 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Text] At least two members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement—AWB] were killed last night, and scores of other people were injured during several hours of violence at Ventersdorp, in the western Transvaal, where the state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, addressed a political meeting.

A police spokesman said six policemen were among the injured, and three were in a serious condition. Altogether 36 whites were injured, including 13 members of the AWB. Twelve blacks were injured, three seriously. A

senior police officer, Lieutenant General Louw Malan, said the police had begun a full-scale investigation into the violence.

According to the police, the violence started when a vehicle with black people plowed into a crowd gathered outside the hall where Mr. de Klerk was giving his address. The occupants of the vehicle, which had gone out of control, were attacked by AWB members. Several shots were fired at the vehicle. The state president was taken to a waiting helicopter in a riot control vehicle after delivering his address.

Gen. Malan said during a news conference that the police had had no choice but to protect lives and property. He said they used tear gas and birdshot to restore order, and he was unaware of any use of other ammunition. However, allegations that the police used rifle ammunition would be investigated. Gen. Malan said he had personally tried to convince the AWB leader, Mr. Eugene Terreblanche, to defuse the situation yesterday.

A spokesman for the Department of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, said Mr. Adriaan Vlok had approached Mr. Terreblanche repeatedly in the past week in an effort to avoid confrontation in the town.

The violence, which broke out shortly before President de Klerk began his speech, caused damage amounting to thousands of rands in the town. The tires of many police vehicles were slashed by AWB supporters. Windscreens were shattered by gunfire, and slogans were spray-painted on vehicles. The police confiscated a large number of dangerous homemade weapons. Six members of the AWB were arrested but released later on condition that they left the town and reported to court on Monday [12 August].

President de Klerk expressed shock at the events, which he described as a tragic moment for democracy in South Africa. He expressed his condolences with the next of kin of the victims. He said he hoped the violence would be an incentive for South Africans to pause and reconsider their actions.

The state president said the Conservative Party [CP] and the AWB had to take full responsibility for the confrontation between the AWB and the police. Mr. de Klerk said he was deeply concerned about the venom and bitterness among Afrikaners, and he extended an invitation to the CP to hold urgent discussions with him on this question.

He said the National Party had not sought out Ventersdorp to make trouble, because it was the party's right to state its viewpoint, just as other parties had this right. President de Klerk said there was no alternative to the road of negotiation and power-sharing.

On the question of the ANC's [African National Congress] actions, Mr. de Klerk said this organization and its allies were increasingly delaying the negotiation process.

The ANC continued to advocate sanctions and boycotts, and the time had arrived for that organization to do more than simply suspend the armed struggle.

The leader of the Democratic Party, Mr. Zach de Beer, said the loss of life was regrettable. However, while he did not wish to make light of the events at Ventersdorp, it would appear that the police had only done their duty. Dr. de Beer said the actions of the right-wingers had been irresponsible and unjustified. They had been demonstrating against the legally elected government of South Africa, and also against the principle that all citizens should be treated fairly. He expressed condolences to relatives of the dead and injured.

The leader of the HNP [Reformed National Party], Mr. Jaap Marais, said President de Klerk's policy of change was leading to frustration among whites. Practically the only effective action left to them was to protest, as they had done in Ventersdorp. Mr. Marais said President de Klerk had miscalculated badly in holding a public meeting at Ventersdorp, where there had already been serious friction between right-wing whites and the security forces. He said politics in the future would be drastically changed by the incident.

The leader of the CP, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, said on being approached for comment that he would state his reaction later.

Renews Call For Negotiations

MB1008194891 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1800 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Excerpt] There has been widespread condemnation of last night's bloody clashes between AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] supporters and police at Ventersdorp. Rightwing groups blame State President de Klerk and the police for causing the violence. Others blame the AWB.

[Begin video recording] [De Klerk] I am shocked by what happened before tonight, and I am deeply shocked by what happened outside. Hopefully it will call everybody to a halt to realize the seriousness of their deeds, and I will try to handle this in such a way that goodwill comes from it. I deeply sympathize with those who were injured, their families; and those who died, their families. It is a tragic moment for democracy in South Africa, but it is not a moment at which we can stop and stand still. We must move forward to democracy through negotiation, and that will happen in South Africa.

[Unidentified reporter] Do you have any regrets about coming here tonight, State President?

[De Klerk] Any party has the right to state its case. I have regrets about what happened, but I don't have regrets, because I came to spread the message of reconciliation and goodwill. Thank you. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Criticizes ANC at Ventersdorp Meeting

MB1208125891 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Three white South African rightwing extremists died and dozens were injured in armed clashes between militants of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, the AWB, and police, outside a venue where State President F.W. de Klerk addressed a meeting at the weekend. [passage omitted]

Addressing the political meeting Mr. de Klerk appealed to all reasonable members of the AWB, the Conservative Party, and other rightwing parties and organizations to reconsider their political preference. He added that negotiations on a new South Africa would go ahead, with or without the rightwing.

Mr. De Klerk also criticized the ANC [African National Congress].

[Begin De Klerk recording] Their attitudes on numerous issues form the stumbling block to progress. One might almost call them spoilers. Through their words and deeds they are standing in the way of what the vast majority of all South Africans really want.

I welcome Mr. Mandela's renewed commitment to negotiations. (?I'm concerned), however, about whether this commitment is irreversible. It ought to be, but there are factors militating against this.

The time has arrived for the ANC to move further than the mere suspension of the armed struggle. We in the National Party, many other parties and the international community need to be certain that the ANC does not have a double agenda. Mere assurances are not enough. [end recording]

South Africa's State President F.W. de Klerk addressing a meeting organized by his ruling National Party in Ventersdorp, west of Johannesburg.

Mandela: AWB Must Be Banned, 'Destroyed'

MB1008122091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1211 GMT 10 Aug 91

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Thohoyandou Aug 10 SAPA—The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's (AWB) [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] culture of political intolerance was directly responsible for the battles in Ventersdorp on Friday night, and was a danger to the negotiation process. And, speaking at a press conference in Thoyandou, Venda, on Saturday, African National Congress [ANC] President Mr Nelson Mandela said the rightwing movement should be "destroyed" if it could not be convinced to change its ways.

Mr Mandela is attending the African National Congress' first military wing conference inside South Africa, at the University of Venda, in the far northern Transvaal. He

was referring to clashes which left two AWB members dead after members of the rightwing movement attempted to get past police to disrupt a speech by State President F.W. de Klerk.

"This culture of political intolerance on the part of the AWB is directly responsible for this tragedy," Mr Mandela read from a prepared statement on behalf of the ANC. "However, the government must carry its share of the blame in this matter," he added.

"The ANC and other responsible South Africans have repeatedly called for a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons—traditional and otherwise—at public gatherings and other manifestations. "Instead the government has allowed this paramilitary force to become a law unto itself and a serious threat to our society.

"This patience of the government with an organisation that promotes fascist white supremacist ideas is a danger to the negotiation process," Mr Mandela warned.

In reply to a question, he said if the AWB could not be convinced to change its ways, it had to be "destroyed". "Clearly, the government erroneously believes that the activities of the extreme rightwingers will weaken the democratic forces of our country," Mr Mandela continued from the prepared ANC statement. "Significantly, in this instance where white life is concerned, Mr de Klerk was quick to express sympathy to the bereaved.

"We hope the government now realises that the future of negotiations and the country as a whole can only be guaranteed if there is closer and genuine co-operation between itself, the ANC, other democratic organisations and all peace-loving South Africans," Mr Mandela said.

He added the ANC noted with sadness the "tragic events", and extended its "sincere condolences to the families of the bereaved".

"It is regrettable that in [words indistinct] between white parties, innocent blacks were among the victims," he said, referring to the minibus carrying blacks which ploughed into the AWB crowd. The passengers were then attacked by members of the crowd.

"It is evident that the presence of the AWB at the meeting was to prevent the National Party from putting across its views to white Ventersdorp."

Asked whether the ANC was in favour of the banning of the AWB, Mr Mandela stopped short of calling for an outright ban.

"Any organisations that preaches fascist ideas ought not to be allowed to flourish in a democratic society," he said. "The entire world, including some of the most talented South Africans, perished during the past World War in order to destroy fascism, and it is ironical in a country that professes a democratic form of government, to tolerate an organisation that preaches fascist ideas."

Asked whether the banning of the AWB would not drive the extreme rightwing organisation underground, the ANC leader replied: "I'm not suggesting that the government should drive the AWB underground. I say they must destroy it."

Mr Mandela added the ANC would be prepared to talk directly to the AWB in a bid to defuse the situation. "We are prepared to talk to everybody. After all, we are the people who have initiated the peace process of this country.

"...Talking to one another is a method which we are confident can clear away a lot of the problems which are facing the country.

"But a fascist organisation, if we can't persuade them to abandon their racist views and the reliance on brute force as a means of solving problems, then (they) must be banned."

Mr Mandela did not rule out a meeting with Mr de Klerk to discuss the specific issue of the media-dubbed "Battle of Ventersdorp". "A meeting with President de Klerk is the most logical thing to do in order to address problems facing the country," he said.

"There are of course certain issues which we have spelt out about which we are not prepared to discuss with the government until they meet certain demands, but other issues ...it is of course logical that we should have a discussion with Mr de Klerk."

AWB Accuses Police of Using Live Ammunition

*MB1008141091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1352 GMT 10 Aug 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 10 SAPA—The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's (AWB) [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] secretary general, Mr. Piet 'Skiet' ['The Trigger'] Rudolph, on Saturday accused the SA [South African] Police [SAP] of having used large calibre, live ammunition against rightwing supporters in Ventersdorp during the violent clashes on Friday night.

Police have denied this, saying that only birdshot, rubber bullets and tear smoke were used in an effort to prevent AWB supporters from disrupting a meeting addressed by State President Mr. F.W. de Klerk.

However Mr. Rudolph told SAPA in a telephone interview that he had seen one of the bodies of the two AWB men who died in the fighting—and that it had contained bullet wounds. "The cause of death could not possibly have been due to a collision with a mini-taxi, as police have alleged in their statements to the news media. That man was shot with live ammunition," Mr Rudolph said.

"I also believe that police had instructions to use such ammunition, because the police van in which I was placed after my arrest was so loaded with live, large-calibre ammunition that I could not find a place to sit down."

He said Mr. de Klerk was contacted by fax from the AWB headquarters on Friday afternoon with an urgent request to talk to AWB leader Mr. Eugene Terre'blanche in an attempt to avoid a confrontation. "When we went to the hall to meet the state president, we instead were greeted by hordes of heavily armed policemen, razor wire, tear gas and biting guard dogs.

"Mr. de Klerk tells us there are not enough policemen to fight crime, or to prevent the murder of old people or to stop the high death rate in black townships, yet he brought huge numbers of policemen to Ventersdorp, just to give himself the opportunity to address a party-political meeting.

"He also used taxpayers' money to arrive by helicopter, and to leave in a police casspir [as received]," Mr. Rudolph said. "This gives us no other choice than to get ready for a war which was started by Mr de Klerk against his own people. Henceforth, Mr de Klerk will be known among his own people as the 'butcher of Ventersdorp'."

He said AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'blanche was deeply shocked about the deaths and injuries, and was discussing funeral arrangements with the dead men's relatives on Saturday.

On Saturday morning the leader of the organisation's female commando, Mrs Sannie van der Merwe, told SAPA the SAP must have used much larger shotgun pellets than the relatively harmless bird shot they claimed to have fired during the clashes.

"I noticed the gunshot wounds on the injured men as we carried them into the (AWB) headquarters building off the street. The wounds were as big as my little finger and their bodies were shot full of holes. The police could easily have been using buckshot instead of the smaller birdshot, judging by the size of the wounds," she said. An SAP spokesman said only birdshot was used.

The AWB headquarters was turned into a temporary treatment area for the injured. "This night will not easily be forgotten nor forgiven," she said. She had also visited Klerksdorp Hospital early on Saturday morning to see an AWB member, who was battling for his life in the intensive care unit. "He came close to dying several times, but he has managed to hang on so far," Mrs van der Merwe said.

There was a feeling of intense anger and deep dismay at the AWB headquarters following the clashes—especially after the news broke that two members, Mr J.J. Conradie of Klerksdorp and Mr A. Radenhorst of Randfontein, had died.

'Shoot To Kill' Order at Ventersdorp Confirmed

MB1108163491 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] The police have admitted that the commander of the police contingent deployed in Ventersdorp on Friday [9 Aug] night did in fact give an order to shoot to kill.

A spokesman for the police Division of Public Relations in Pretoria said the commander of the police contingent, Brigadier Adriaan de la Rosa, had given the order because the police had been in danger of their lives, and three policemen had already been shot.

However, the police had continued to use birdshot and not their handguns. As far as can be ascertained, only two rounds of buckshot were fired later.

The police have confirmed that a Ventersdorp municipal employee has been arrested in connection with the disruption of power at the town before President De Klerk addressed the meeting. A spokesman said the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] attack on the police had begun when the lights were switched off.

The man is expected to appear in court at the town tomorrow, but no charge against him has been formulated yet.

AWB: Government 'Heading for Big Trouble'

MB1108143091 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1425 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] Pretoria Aug 11 SAPA—Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement; AWB] leader Eugene Terre'blanche on Sunday said the government was "heading for big trouble" by misusing the police for political purposes as it had on Friday night at Ventersdorp.

At a press conference in Pretoria he said the AWB was preparing for an oncoming revolution because the government could not handle the security situation any more.

Reacting to ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela's call for stricter government action against the far right movement, Mr Terre'blanche said if the ANC wanted to take the country by force, "We'll meet him and level him with the gravel.

"Mandela doesn't even have the vote, so what can he tell me what should happen in South Africa".

He said Mr Mandela realised after Friday night's fracas at Ventersdorp "that the Boer people will never give him the country he is fighting for".

Mr Terre'blanche said the AWB had committed no crime in Ventersdorp. They had merely been on their way to attend Mr de Klerk's meeting. He said someone was prepared to testify that a senior police officer had instructed the police: "Shoot to kill." He added, "Apparently the state president is prepared to block to his own nation all avenues to negotiation.

"He is not prepared to hold an election. He makes his own preparations, irrevocably. When he must submit his case to his voters, he has his voters shot even before they arrive at the venue.

"No crime has been committed by the AWB or the rightwingers. I accept responsibility for everything that happened there because 90 percent or more were AWB members. Those people committed no crime. They were on their way to the meeting."

Mr Terre'blanche said he did not believe the police had turned against the AWB—otherwise hundreds of people would have been killed.

When he shouted to police to stop shooting, they did. "But what is strange is that no officer ordered them to stop shooting. I did myself."

The AWB would be seeing its lawyers on Monday.

The movement's main priority in the meantime would be to "go on faster than now to build out the commandos stronger than they already are". Mr Terre'blanche said he was thankful that people had had firearms on them, otherwise the combi that plowed into the crowd would have killed even more people.

He said the AWB members were armed because it was dangerous to travel at night, and it was in contravention of the law to leave weapons in cars.

Mr Terre'blanche said the 25 confiscated metal "arm guards" had been taken to Ventersdorp "because if you want to attend a political meeting in a democratic country you need apparatus on your arms to prevent the (police) dogs from devouring you."

"Those things were specifically made to shove into the dogs' mouths, when you are bitten by the dogs in your own country."

He said it was up to the government to stop any civil war from developing.

"The first thing the government must do, it must give its voters an opportunity to vote in an election. If it won't do that I believe the situation will become worse; then yes, there can come war."

Asked if he would be able to control his angry supporters, Mr Terre'blanche said, "Don't ask me to control them, my good friend, ask the government to control them."

De Klerk Said Guilty of 'Extreme Provocation'

MB1008082891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0801 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Text] Vryheid Aug 10 SAPA—The state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk had arrived in Ventersdorp on Friday [9 August] night in an atmosphere of war, which was an act of extreme provocation, the leader of the rightwing Conservative Party [CP], Dr Andries Treurnicht, said on Saturday.

Speaking at the opening of the CP's Natal congress in Vryheid, Dr Treurnicht said the state president himself was the problem.

He was referring to the battle which erupted in the western Transvaal town of Ventersdorp on Friday night after rightwingers, attempting to disrupt a speech given by the state president, clashed with police. Two men died in the confrontation. "Mr de Klerk knows what the CP's position is with regard to violence and it is despicable of him to blame the CP for what happened. "You ignored all the warnings that you were not welcome in Ventersdorp," Dr Treurnicht said.

The state president had arrived in Ventersdorp in an atmosphere of war, accompanied by 2,000 policemen. "That was extreme provocation." Mr de Klerk was also continuing along a political road for which he did not have permission from white voters. "It is arrogance to take the rights of whites away."

BP Chief: 3d Boer War Begun in Ventersdorp

MB0908193291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1921 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 9 SAPA—Boerestaat Party [BP; Boer Homeland Party] leader Mr Robert van Tonder on Friday said the "third freedom war of the Boer people" started when AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] members and the SAP [South African Police] exchanged shots in Ventersdorp.

"F.W. de Klerk is the Jan Smuts of our time and on Friday night his fall was assured, exactly as the downfall of Smuts was guaranteed after he started shooting on his own people during the 1922 miners' strike," Mr van Tonder said.

"The Boer people have now had enough of FW's [de Klerk's] sell-out tactics. The democratic process was destroyed because he has closed the door to white elections. Because he removed the democratic rights of his people, he can from today expect that his people will also violently reject him."

Mr van Tonder said many of his party's members had been in Ventersdorp on Friday night.

"The Boerestaat Party will stand by anyone who wants to co-operate in destroying the De Klerk-Mandela threat," he concluded.

DP Calls for 'Transitional Government'

MB1108085691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0835 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 11 SAPA—The Democratic Party [DP] on Sunday [11 August] called for a transitional government of national unity in which all significant parties will be represented. In a statement issued on Sunday following a scheduled meeting of the DP caucus at the weekend, Colin Eglin, MP, said the DP would press for the establishment of a transitional government to be given priority at the forthcoming multi-party conference.

In the statement he said no political party could be both the referee and a player during the process of negotiation of a new constitution. "Equally, no single party, let alone a single minority party, can monopolise government during the process of transition to a new South Africa," Mr Eglin said.

He said it was essential that a transitional government of national unity should have constitutional continuity, political effectiveness and a high degree of popular legitimacy.

Mr Eglin said the DP recognised that establishing a transitional government would call for certain amendments to be made to the present constitution but believed it would prove to be practicable to ensure these as part of the transitional process. He added that in this way, legitimacy of the transitional government could be achieved without sacrificing loyalty.

Ventersdorp Death Toll Rises to Three

MB1008195791 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1954 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 10 SAPA—The death toll in the bloody clash between members of the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] supporters and police in Ventersdorp on Friday night has risen to three, with the death on Saturday afternoon of one more AWB member.

A spokeswoman for the Klerksdorp Hospital confirmed the man died in hospital on Saturday afternoon after violence that erupted in Ventersdorp where State President F.W. de Klerk addressed a National Party [NP] meeting. Police confirmed 36-year-old Mr Gerhard Koen of Bloemhof was an AWB member.

The clash has also claimed the lives of Mr J.J. Conradie and Mr A. Badenhorst, both AWB members. Fifty-eight others, including seven policemen, were injured, some seriously.

One person's condition was described as critical in the hospital's intensive care unit. Police spokesman Maj Ray Harrauld said one policeman underwent surgery on Saturday and was in a serious condition. The other injured were in a satisfactory condition, the hospital spokeswoman said.

Maj Harrauld said police were still assessing damage to Ventersdorp after rightwingers went on the rampage through the western Transvaal town.

The violence has sparked an outcry from political parties across the political spectrum, with rightwingers blaming Mr de Klerk and others calling for restraint, tolerance and discipline from rightwing organisations.

African National Congress (ANC) President Mr Nelson Mandela said: "This culture of political intolerance from the AWB is directly responsible for this tragedy. We hope the government now realises that the future of

negotiations and the country as a whole can only be guaranteed if there is closer and genuine co-operation between itself, the ANC, other democratic forces and all peace loving South Africans."

Mr Mandela stopped short of calling for an outright ban of the AWB, but he said the rightwing movement should be "destroyed" if it could not be convinced to change its ways. "It was evident that the presence of the AWB at the meeting was to prevent the National Party from putting across its views to white Ventersdorp," Mr Mandela added.

Mr de Klerk said it was a tragic moment for democracy in South Africa when "people shoot at the custodians of law and order" for doing their duty. He said controversy surrounding the National Party meeting had not been the fault of the NP—but had been instigated by the Conservative Party [CP], the AWB and their friends.

The state president expressed sympathy and condolences to the bereaved families. CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said Mr de Klerk ignored all warnings that he was not welcome in Ventersdorp.

Mr de Klerk was continuing along a political road for which he did not have permission from white voters, Dr Treurnicht said. "It is arrogance to take the rights of whites away."

Democratic party leader Dr Zach de Beer, said while he did not wish to make light of the events in Ventersdorp, it would appear the police had only done their duty. The actions of the rightwingers had been irresponsible and unjustified, he added.

Dr de Beer said rightwingers had been demonstrating against the legally-elected government of South Africa and also against the principle that all citizens should be treated fairly.

AWB General Secretary Mr Piet Rudolf said: "We went to the hall to meet the state president, instead we were greeted by hordes of heavily armed policemen, razor wire, tear gas, and biting guard dogs. "This gives us no other choice than to get ready for a war which was started by Mr de Klerk against his own people."

Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut [Afrikaner Business Institute, AHI] President Mr Gerrie Steenkamp said the violence could have far-reaching economic consequences for South Africa. He said the AHI urged Afrikaans political party leaders to resolve their differences through dialogue. Events such as these could further inhibit the economy, which was in a serious recession, by adversely affecting investor confidence.

Herstigste Nasionale Party [Reformed National Party, HNP] leader Mr Jaap Marais said the state president's decision to hold a public meeting at Ventersdorp had been a calculated provocation of Afrikaner opponents.

ANC's First Military Conference Ends 11 Aug*MB1108164491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1634 GMT 11 Aug 91*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Thohoyandou Aug 11 SAPA—The ANC's [African National Congress] first military conference inside South Africa ended on Sunday afternoon with a unanimous resolution calling on the ANC's National Executive Committee [NEC] to retain Chris Hani as Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, MK—ANC military wing] chief of staff, and not agree to a SA [South African] Communist Party [SACP] request for him to work fulltime for the party.

The announcement was made at a press conference at the University of Venda, Thohoyandou, in the far northern Transvaal, at the end of the three-day conference attended by about 500 MK delegates.

MK called on the South African Government to commit itself to a ceasefire, and said it was ready for contact with all security forces and armies within South Africa who were committed to democratic change.

MK Commander Joe Modise ruled out the SA Defence Force [SADF] as an army committed to change, but said MK believed there were elements within the SADF who were, and MK wanted to meet them.

In an interview with SAPA later, Mr Modise said MK's role as a guerrilla army was no longer valid, and the first steps to change MK to a regular army had been taken.

He predicted it would take MK between two and four years to transform to a regular army.

At the press conference, it was also revealed MK would be recommending to the African National Congress NEC that an MK Supreme Council be formed to strengthen the ANC's armed wing.

The MK conference gave its "unqualified" support for the negotiations process.

"However, we note with anger and dismay the regime's double agenda as recently evidenced by the revelations around the 'Inkathagate' scandal and the involvement of the South African security forces in planning and executing acts of violence against our people and the liberation movement," the resolution on negotiations added.

Security was tight throughout the three-day meeting, which was held mostly behind closed doors.

Delegates also resolved to establish a social welfare department within MK to look into the specific needs of all its cadres, inside and outside the country.

It resolved to set up a commission "to explore and research the form and content of a future regular army".

Delegates reiterated the ANC's position on the need for an interim government "as a matter of urgency".

It proposed that the commission on a future regular army make proposals on the functioning of the various security forces within South Africa during the transitional phase to majority rule.

"Having agreed to suspend armed actions and related activities in August 1990, this conference of MK calls upon the Pretoria regime to equally commit itself to a ceasefire in order to facilitate the process of peaceful transformation to a democratic future," the conference resolved further.

"MK calls for contact with all security forces and armies within South Africa committed to change to a democratic non-racial, non-sexist South Africa. In this regard we call upon an independent body to facilitate a conference of all these above-mentioned forces."

The conference criticised the government for its "refusal" to release hundreds—according to the ANC—of political prisoners.

"Key among them are Mthetheli Ncube, Euclid Nondula and Robert McBride," MK said.

Mr Hani told the press conference it was for the ANC NEC to decide on his future, and he would abide by their decision.

An MK commander stressed to the media the decision to call for Mr Hani's retention as second-in-command in MK was not a snub to the SACP.

"The conference unanimously called upon the NEC of the ANC to retain Comrade Chris Hani as chief of staff and deputy commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe," the resolution stated.

The MK conference had laid the foundation stone for the legalisation of the ANC's military wing, the statement added.

Work will begin immediately on the restructuring of MK.

Regional structures will be set up in the 14 ANC regions throughout South Africa, and an unspecified number of deputies will be appointed.

Mr Modise revealed in a confidential report to the conference on Friday that MK would soon embark on an unprecedented recruitment drive in South Africa, concentrating mainly on academically qualified men and women.

At the press conference on Sunday, Mr Modise said MK expected to play a role in the transitional phase before a new South African constitution is implemented.

"During the interim government, we expect MK also to participate in securing our people in this country," he said.

"We believe that the SA Defence Force and SA Police cannot be the only instruments of power during that period. They have a reputation of being part of the repressive system.

"So, the only way in which these problems that our people are facing can be brought to an end, is when there is participation of all these forces (committed to democratic change).

"It's not only MK," Mr Modise said. "We also expect the forces in the independent homelands to participate in the provision of defence and security for our entire nation."

Stressing that the issue of peace was crucial in South Africa, Mr Hani said MK had, therefore, decided to take the initiative in highlighting the issue.

Explaining why the SADF would not be invited to a military conference, he said recent disclosures in the press had focused on the disruptive activities of certain elements within the SADF.

"But, we do know that the SADF is not a monolith," Mr Hani said, "so we are appealing to various sections of the SADF to join us as fellow South Africans in promoting peace in this country, so that the process of negotiations can actually go on without disruption, without sabotage.

"It is an attempt, in a way, to isolate the racist and murderous elements within the SADF," MK's chief of staff explained.

"We feel it is our duty, an imperative duty, to create a climate of dialogue, of discussions, amongst the security forces—MK, bantustan armies and elements within the SADF—to create a climate where our political leaders...can sit together to discuss a constitution that must take this country into democratic elections and a new government."

Mr Modise added: "Amongst the SADF forces, particularly the whites within that force, we want to believe that there are elements also who want to see change. Those elements are also welcome to this (proposed) forum."

The request on the first day of the conference by Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa for MK and the ANC to assist in an evaluation of homeland armies will be discussed by the NEC, it was announced on Sunday.

MK's Hani Comments on Future RSA Army

*MB1008163291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1623 GMT 10 Aug 91*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Thohoyandou Aug 10 SAPA—Short of disaster in the negotiation process, the transition to majority rule will be peaceful which will have definite implications for the way in which a new South African [RSA] army is

organised. Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] Chief of Staff Chris Hani predicted at the weekend.

He was delivering a confidential report behind closed doors to about 500 delegates at the three-day conference at the University of Venda, in Thohoyandou, in the far northern Transvaal. It is the African National Congress' [ANC] first military conference inside the country.

Mr Hani urged MK to "forge ahead" and prepare itself for an important role in the building of a new army. "Our leadership should step up the drive for the crucial training of our soldiers as regular army officers in all fields."

He warned though: "Failure to achieve high professional standards as soldiers will lead to a disastrous and undesirable situation. "We also should not allow a situation where the dominant and central positions are solely in the hands of those who have fought and struggled against democracy," he said.

SAPA obtained a copy of the report, delivered on Friday afternoon, which for the first time gave an insight into ANC thinking on the formation of a post-apartheid army.

"The first step to take once we have elected a democratic government is to draw (up) a code of conduct for the defence force that is to be organised and formed," Mr Hani said in his detailed report, which admitted MK was still grappling with serious problems.

"It is quite clear that a new democratic society will need a new army that will be in keeping with the democracy we shall be building and strengthening," he said. That commission, in my view, will have to draw up a code of conduct that must spell out the attitudes and behaviour or actions of the soldier. The code will serve to ensure impartial and humane actions by the army in times of peace. A democracy that thrives and serves the interests of the people should make sure that the army and police are there not to entrench a government eternally but defend the values and norms of a democratic society."

Because the military always operated in the midst of different political interests, the military and security forces in general "should maintain high standards of impartiality and tolerance".

"Military professionalism should not embrace political partisanship but it is important that it takes cognisance of the ethical values required by the military service in a democracy. Our society in future must exist in the interests of our people and should protect the individual citizen and this includes the dignity of the individual and his right to lead a free and peaceful life—these should be the cornerstone and sine qua non of military service in a democratic South Africa.

"An army is part of the executive power of a state and in our democratic South Africa, military command and

control must be subordinate to the primacy of politics and should be accountable to Parliament.

"The loyalty of our future army must be to the democratic constitution, our laws, parliament, and to the people of South Africa," MK's chief of staff said.

He called for an oath of allegiance to a new South African constitution, and for the army to be ready to execute all legal orders to the best of its ability.

Significantly though, he added: "The democratic constitution must give the soldiers the right to refuse orders which violate the constitution and national laws."

MK had developed in a political tradition where the bottom line was to seize power. If MK was still fighting for the seizure of power it would have been obvious it would have formed the core of a new army. "But the reality exists, that short of a major disaster in the negotiation process, the transition is very likely to be relatively peaceful," Mr Hani predicted.

"If the negotiations, therefore, lead to a peaceful transfer of power from the minority to the majority, it would have definite implications in the way we organise our new army. It would mean we inherit a fully fledged SA [South African] Defence Force, Transkei Defence Force, Venda Defence Force, Bophuthatswana Defence Force, Ciskei Defence Force, et al."

Any parliamentary commission, therefore, with the task of drawing up guidelines for a new South African army would also have to recognise the existence of other armies.

MK Says Hani Cannot Leave To Work for SACP

*MB1108131891 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 11 Aug 91 p 2*

[Report by Edyth Bulbring: "MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe—ANC Military Wing) Warns Hani About Leaving"]

[Text] The ANC's [African National Congress] military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; MK], has refused to release its top soldier, Mr Chris Hani, to work full time in the SA [South African] Communist Party [SACP].

If he defied this resolution, he would have to accept the consequences warned one delegate to the MK's first public conference in the country yesterday.

The delegate said the final decision on whether he would be released from MK was up to the ANC national executive, but they would have to take note of the MK decision. "Mr Hani would be taking a risk if he chose to defy the army," the delegate said.

Earlier this week Mr Hani admitted that his decision to leave MK was likely to be questioned. He said he intended to visit MK camps abroad to explain his decision.

But a delegate at the Thohoyandou conference said it was not up to Mr Hani to take individual decisions. MK needed Mr Hani to assist during the crucial phase of converting to a conventional army and the integration of MK in the SADF [South African Defense Force].

The focus of MK's first legal conference inside the country was the role and structure of MK during the negotiation phase and how to structure itself in defence against violence. It would also have to plan how to convert from a banned guerrilla army to a legal army—and how to prepare itself to become part of an army under a democratic constitution.

Sources said while MK accepted the suspension of the armed struggle, it also believed that the government was now fighting "a different kind of war".

The Inkatha funding scandal, allegations of SADF involvement in the train massacres and the use of a third force to undermine the ANC had made MK determined not to be caught napping.

It was likely that the conference would resolve to strengthen its underground structures and step up recruitment and infiltration of soldiers inside the country. It was also likely to resolve to maintain arms caches inside the country and step up the inflow of arms from outside.

The conference also had to create structures for liaison between the underground and the external army to facilitate infiltration of soldiers and arms, military sources said.

Recognising that there was a likelihood, under present conditions, that MK would be swamped by the SADF in an integrated army, the conference had to establish a counter strategy.

Mr Hani said MK was looking at the reorganisation, strengthening and the integration of MK into a new army.

He told delegates that three years ago MK began the task, with the assistance of the USSR, of training a regular army: "Events in the socialist countries have seriously reduced the possibilities of continuing with this kind of training".

Tambo: MK Must Always Remain 'Battle Ready'

*MB1108200691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1959 GMT 11 Aug 91*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Thohoyandou Aug 11 SAPA—The ANC's [African National Congress] military wing should form the nucleus of a new South African army, African National Congress National Chairman Oliver Tambo on Sunday told Umkhonto we Sizwe's (MK) [Spear of the Nation] first legal national conference inside South Africa.

It had to remain "battle ready" at all times, however, because the government of President F.W. de Klerk was trying to salvage white domination, he said in the closing address to the three-day meeting at the University of Venda, Thohoyandou, in the far northern Transvaal.

Mr Tambo was commander-in-chief of MK until he stepped down as ANC president in July because of ill-health.

"Being the only truly non-racial army in this country, MK is the army of the future," Mr Tambo said. "For this reason, we must upgrade the quality of its cadreship so when the day comes for the building of a new South African army, MK should constitute the nucleus of that army."

Political negotiations had become possible only after the ANC's valour had forced the government to respect the organisation.

"It was only after we had taught them that we too were more than capable of hitting back that they began to take us seriously. This we should never forget. Neither should we forget that the regime agreed to talks as the last effort of stopping this country from slipping out of their control. Negotiations, therefore, represent a strategic defeat for the regime," Mr Tambo said. "However, these negotiations remain a hotly-contested terrain of struggle wherein advances and reversals are twin realities.

"Additional to all other known government manoeuvres, recent revelations about the secret funding of the enemies of democracy and peace have more than confirmed our long-held view that the regime is attempting to salvage the sinking of white domination.

"Accordingly, we cannot afford to lower our guard for a moment. We shall never disarm ourselves and allow the other side to massacre our people with impunity.

"The success of the peace process depends, amongst others, on the strength that MK marshals.

"We must, therefore, remain battle ready at all times," Mr Tambo said.

'Unprecedented' MK Recruitment Drive Slated

*MB1008131891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1308 GMT 10 Aug 91*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Thohoyandou Aug 10 SAPA—The ANC's [African National Congress'] military wing will soon embark on an unprecedented recruitment drive, with conventional military training provided by up to five "friendly" African states, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) [Spear of the Nation] Commander Mr Joe Modise has revealed.

Mr Modise was giving a confidential keynote address at the weekend to about 500 delegates attending the first MK conference to be held inside South Africa.

SAPA was able to obtain a copy of Mr Modise's speech which was delivered behind closed doors on Friday afternoon at the University of Venda, in Thohoyandou in the far northern Transvaal.

The suspension of the African National Congress' armed struggle did not mean its abandonment, as some believed, he said.

In a report which frankly admitted to serious weaknesses within MK, Mr Modise said that while there had been a "clamour" by the people to be defended, the ANC's military wing had been unable to oblige, he admitted.

Despite some military achievements—like those against the oil from coal plant SASOL [South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation], the Voortrekkerhoogte military Base, and the Koeberg nuclear plant in the early 1980s—"we realised our shortcomings that we could not root ourselves amongst the masses".

According to MK combatants SAPA spoke to, Mr Modise's address was interrupted on a number of occasions with applause and he received a standing ovation at the end.

"Last year the movement entered into an agreement with the government that we would suspend armed actions," he said in his report. "However, this move is being misunderstood in some quarters that it means the abandonment of armed struggle. We all know and are aware that this will not be the case until this process of negotiations cannot be reversed, meaning that until there is an agreement on the cessation of hostilities by both parties, we will maintain this position."

MK's military headquarters planned to send MK cadres for long-term military training and to upgrade them in academic studies, Mr Modise said.

"Modest steps have been taken to train our combatants in the three branches of a regular army, namely ground, air and naval forces. It is important that we institute specialised training in those areas of the army in which we lag behind. In other words, it means that the conversion of our guerilla detachments into a modern regular army should play a pivotal role if the liberation movement is to be present in the future South African defence and security apparatus. That is why the building of an officers' corps is an important task which we cannot afford to delay any longer," Mr Modise said.

"In respect to the arrangements for building the regular army, let me take this opportunity to brief this august gathering, that plans are under way with friendly African states to train our cadres in conventional army methods.

"Tanzania and Uganda are currently training our officers. Similar arrangements are to be finalised with three other African states. Therefore, this means that a massive recruitment drive should be embarked upon in a manner and scope we have never seen before. This drive is targeted for cadres with formal educational qualification," Mr Modise explained. "This exercise should

involve the active participation of all sectors of our society including our womenfolk," he added.

Another important task for MK at present was its participation in the formation, building and preparing of self-defence units, "in assisting people to involve themselves in their own defence and security".

In a frank, and at times detailed, admittance of weaknesses within in MK, Mr Modise said: "Though the campaigns of armed propaganda popularised the movement, its programme, the alliance (with the SA [South African] Communist Party and Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions]) and other issues, it had serious shortcomings. "The leadership realised that without the existence of solid underground structures this would lead to the liquidation of the movement," the MK commander said.

As a result, the ANC's Politico-Military Council was formed with the objective of establishing integrated leadership structures inside South Africa. "As most of our cadres were in the camps and forward areas, we could not effectively meet the clamour of the people to be defended including their newly created structures," he said in reference to local structures like civic organisations, and later street committees, people's courts and self-defence units.

"Umkhonto we Sizwe could not adequately meet the cry of the people due to a number of factors," Mr Modise added. He cited the "destabilisation plans" of the SA Government, in an "offensive against the Frontline States".

"Another factor for not responding promptly to the situation was the preoccupation within our ranks to flush out enemy agents in all our establishments and in other operational regions of the forward areas," Mr Modise revealed.

"The raids that were conducted against our operatives in the forward areas, (and) a serious mutiny that was staged in our camps, dominated our efforts to close ranks at all times, thus the people's endeavours were not prioritised as should have been the case. MK should seize this opportunity of the present political climate to make a critical appraisal of its efforts," he urged MK delegates.

Most of the delegates were senior MK commanders, including at least 60 from Zimbabwe, Angola, Zambia, Uganda and Tanzania. "We should ask ourselves, why we were not able to gain a foothold in the rural areas. Why our attempts to involve workers and peasants in sufficient numbers fell short of our desired goals."

Finally, he called on the hundreds of MK delegates to "ponder" on the question of the participation of MK cadres in the maintenance of peace and stability in the transitional period in South Africa. "Certainly, it will not be possible for a transitional government composed of forces outside the racist apparatus to solely depend on the SA Defence Force and the SA Police to provide security, law and order of the state.

"We believe that we are in a position to adequately provide defence of our country during this transitional period."

Report Urges MK Administrative Autonomy

MB1008173091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1721 GMT 10 Aug 91

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Thohoyandou Aug 10 SAPA—The African National Congress' [ANC] armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) [Spear of the Nation], will choose a military command equal to the ANC's 26 member National Working Committee [NWC] if it follows the recommendation of a confidential discussion paper delivered by Welfare Department head Mrs. Winnie Mandela.

SAPA obtained a copy of the report, titled: "A Discussion Paper on Welfare Services for MK", which was delivered at the three-day MK conference in Venda on Saturday by Mrs. Mandela.

The report also argues for a "reasonable" financial autonomy for MK, in a bid to meet the pressing financial demands from MK combatants in the changed political situation in the country.

Under "recommendations", a section titled: "Suggested Mechanism for Effective Administration and Care of Our Military Wing", the report states: "One of the major problems encountered was the lack of a structure which deals specifically with the military problems. Soldiers are human beings with human problems who are not just figures behind a gun."

It points out: "This conference is expected to come up with a military structure which will be at the same level with the National Working Committee if we are to save our army and build on it the conventional people's army of tomorrow.

"By the above we are not suggesting an open election of the (MK) high command, we refer here to a group of approximately 20-25 time tested comrades who should be nominated by the conference for the effective running of our military through which we shall work very closely with."

The Welfare Department report admitted it was "no secret" that MK cadres had expressed concern about being "side-lined", and because of the negotiation process they were no longer appreciated. "We all know how long it took to convince quite a large number (of MK cadres) about the wisdom of suspending armed action," the Welfare Department report said.

"If we had had a formidable structure within our military and not necessarily the (ANC) National Executive Committee NWC, the problem of sufficient consultation at the entire army level would not have arisen. Such a responsibility we believe should not be left to individuals such as the (MK) commander (Joe Modise) or chief of staff (Chris Hani) only."

The paper, under a section on the "autonomy" of MK's budget, added: "There is no question of the army being autonomous from the political machinery but there is every reason for us to argue for financial and administrative autonomy to a reasonable extent."

MK Recommends Cease-Fire, International Help

*MB1108123891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1226 GMT 11 Aug 91*

[Text] Thohoyandou Aug 11 SAPA—The ANC's [African National Congress] military wing on Sunday recommended there should be a formal ceasefire. On the last day of Umkhonto we Sizwe's [Spear of the Nation; MK] first conference in South Africa, its commission on security forces recommended there should be a formal ceasefire and an international supervising body under the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity to participate in the transitional period.

The conference on Sunday adopted four resolutions from its four commissions on security forces in the future democratic South Africa [SA], restructuring of MK, welfare of MK and, negotiations and the armed struggle.

A resolution on the restructuring of MK was passed that the ANC National Executive Committee formulate policy and programmes on security and defence in post-apartheid SA.

The Welfare Commission, presented by ANC Department of Social Welfare head Mrs Winnie Mandela recommended that the ANC establish a treasury department for MK which should be autonomous. Despite arguments by delegates that it would be a duplication, the MK agreed to establish a new body, the MK Supreme Council, consisting of 20 men to oversee the work done by military headquarters. The council would be chaired by army commander-in-chief Mr Nelson Mandela.

*** New Bill Said To Benefit Farmworkers**

*91AF1296B Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 28 Jun-4 Jul 91 p 12*

[Text] The Basic Conditions of Employment Bill, tabled in parliament last week, goes some way towards a better deal for farmworkers—but is still not entirely acceptable.

This is the view of Dawie Bosch, labour lawyer and member of the National Manpower Commission's (NMC) farmworkers' sub-committee.

According to the Department of Manpower, the Bill is likely to be legislated in February next year despite hopes that it would go through this session.

The new Bill includes many of the NMC proposals omitted by the Manpower Department in controversial draft legislation earlier this year.

It provides for a 48-hour working week which can be extended by four hours a week over a period of three months. The department had proposed a 54-hour week over a period of four months.

Overtime has been set at three hours a day and not more than 10 hours a week. Sunday work will be paid at double normal wage rates with a day's paid leave if the work has exceeded five hours. In a significant move, the Bill provides for piecework to be paid at normal rates.

But, says Bosch, "although most of the areas of consensus (in the NMC) are covered, some have been watered down".

The NMC recommended "reasonable notice" to provide more than the statutory notice of two weeks for farmworkers. "The department has introduced very specific circumstances for extended notice and has weakened the clause," said Bosch.

A key NMC recommendation was the introduction of civil remedies for breaches of the Act. The Bill allows for civil remedies—but stipulates that parties to a civil claim must sign a certificate removing the Manpower Department's responsibility to investigate.

Strict regulations aimed at governing the granting of exemptions from the Act were laid down by the NMC, among them a provision that the manpower minister should provide reasons for granting exemptions and should publish those granted. The Bill leaves the granting of exemptions to the minister.

Significant absences are anti-race and sex discrimination clauses proposed by Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and a proposed ban on dismissals in anticipation of new law. A clause preventing farmers from forcing farmworkers to buy at their shops has also not been included.

The posting of summaries of legislation in four languages on all farms, a unanimous NMC proposal, is omitted from the Bill. Also excluded is a Congress of South African Trade Unions proposal for the streamlining of department enforcement procedures.

Explaining these omissions, a Manpower Department representative said the Bill was rushed through before parliament recessed. Only the most important clauses were included.

He said the Bill was likely to be significantly changed by the parliamentary standing committee.

The Unemployment Insurance Act Amendment Bill, extending UIF to farmworkers, was also tabled in parliament last week. It makes provision for the Act to be phased in over 12 months, to "inform and prepare employers and employees properly".

However, the Bill also makes provision for the farmworkers to become contributors as soon as the Act is passed, should they so wish.

Madagascar

Provisional Red Cross Toll of Dead, Injured

AB1008184691 Paris AFP in English 1816 GMT
10 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Antananarivo, Aug 10 (AFP) - Madagascan President Didier Ratsiraka's guard killed at least 10 anti-government protestors and injured more than 200 Saturday, according to a provisional Red Cross toll.

"We estimate at 10 the number of dead but a lot of the wounded are in a very serious state," spokesman Francis Rasoamaharo said, adding that most of the casualties fell to grenade explosions. The Red Cross figures were based on admissions to two hospitals here in the capital.

The presidential guard opened fire with assault rifles and threw grenades into the front rank of demonstrators in a crowd of about 400,000 moving towards the presidential palace south of the capital, an AFP photographer on the spot said. The photographer, among the first marchers, said that after sweeping through one military barricade, the demonstrators came up against a second manned by more than 200 men from the presidential guard.

The demonstrators argued with the soldiers for more than one hour seeking to move on before the firing broke out. Some of the shots and grenades came from a military helicopter arriving on the scene, the AFP photographer said. "They just kept on shooting," he added.

After protesters fled the violence and returned to Antananarivo, they set fire to the home of the secretary general of the ruling coalition government, Marojoma Razanabahiny, said an eyewitness.

Earlier, a Red Cross spokesman said that the guardsmen started firing on "demonstrators who were falling back" and many of the wounded were "in serious condition with injuries to the head and the limbs." Ambulances could not reach the front of the crowd because of the panic which spread after shots were fired, he added.

Eyewitnesses reported seeing ambulances rushing to and from the presidential palace, 17 kilometers (10 miles) south of here, after the shootings halted the "march for freedom." [passage omitted]

Palace Guards, Helicopter Attack Demonstrators

LD1008190591 Paris France-Inter Radio Network
in French 1700 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Text] There has been an atmosphere of insurrection in Madagascar for the past few hours. In Antananarivo, the presidential guard opened fire on the crowd which was marching on President Ratsiraka's palace. A first estimate gives a toll of some 10 dead, and more than 200 wounded. It must be said that nearly all the residents of the capital were in the streets. Now a report from Antananarivo from Jean Helene of Radio France International:

[Helene] Blood was spilled in front of the presidential palace, where more than 500,000 people were gathered around noon. The Army was able to contain the crowd for approximately one hour while the opposition leaders were discussing the sending of a delegation to the palace 2 km away. Nevertheless, the crowd was becoming more and more impatient, and nervous soldiers attempted to intimidate it with tear gas grenades. This only gave the signal for the march on the palace. In front of the palace, people with slings hurled stones at the demonstrators. At the same time, a helicopter—the presidential helicopter it is reported here—flying over the crowd spread out in the rice paddies, dropped teargas grenades. People pulled back, but without giving up, and the first shots were fired. Witnesses saw soldiers of the presidential guard firing their Kalashnikovs. The helicopter returned, this time with fragmentation grenades. At the general hospital, the wounded, with torn legs and grenade fragments in their heads, can be seen. There is not enough blood to meet the demand.

This is Jean Helene from RFI reporting for France Inter from Antananarivo.

'Tens of Thousands' Protest 10 Aug Deaths

AB1108091691 Paris AFP in English 0844 GMT
11 Aug 91

[Text] Antananarivo, Aug 11 (AFP)—Tens of thousands of demonstrators rallied here Sunday after the Madagascar presidential guard shot dead at least 12 demonstrators and wounded some 200 others.

The latest toll from Saturday's clashes outside the palace of beleaguered President Didier Ratsiraka was issued by the local branch of the Red Cross which said its officials counted 12 bodies in city hospitals.

Many of the wounded, hit by grenade splinters or bullets fired at the unarmed demonstrators, were in serious condition, Red Cross official Francis Rasoamaharo said.

Witnesses said meanwhile that tens of thousands had rallied at May 13 square here in support of the two-month opposition campaign demanding the resignation of hardliner Ratsiraka. Opposition leaders, who have formed a transitional government for the Indian Ocean island, were due to address the crowd.

On Saturday, the presidential guard opened fire with assault rifles and threw grenades into the front rank of some 400,000 demonstrators moving towards the palace, south of the capital, in a "march for freedom."

Reactions to 10 Aug Incidents Reported

LD1108113891 Paris Radio France International
in French 0630 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Stones were thrown, firearms were used and grenades were dropped from an helicopter. Yesterday's march by the Malagasy opposition on the presidential palace turned into a tragedy: There

were some 10 dead and at least 200 wounded. This is the first time that blood had been spilled since the protest action started more than two months ago. [passage omitted] Jean Helene, can it be said that yesterday's carnage will probably change the political perspectives?

[Helene] Indeed, one may already expect that the church will disavow the president since people died, even if the authorities consider that there were premeditated provocations. On the other side, one must ask if it will still be possible for the Active Forces to contain their supporters when some of them already wish to confront the regime supporters. In case of anarchy, recourse to martial law is not to be excluded even if the army seems to remain prudently neutral for the time being. After this dramatic day the opposition will find a second breath to mobilize again the crowd of the 13 May square. The general strike that has been paralyzing public services for more than a month will most probably continue. Now, one awaits the reaction of the president, who is now called a murderer by the Active Forces.

[Announcer] The Malagasy political world is naturally in a state of shock. The first reaction yesterday came from Albert Zafy who was leading this march.

[Begin Zafy recording] It is [words indistinct] to try to choke the cry, the desire of the people who simply ask for freedom. They are simply hungry people who cannot make ends meet at the end of the month, who are not able to give a proper education to their children, they ask for a minimum of justice. So, as far as I am concerned, a government which tries to choke that, commits a crime against the Malagasy people. [end recording]

[Announcer] [passage omitted] There was another reaction from one of President Ratsiraka's close associates, (Jose Andreanawelson), who spoke to Alain Grumberg. He tries to explain what happened yesterday:

[Begin recording] [Andreanawelson] The lavoloha compound is a military compound, I believe that the usual warnings were given. Responsibility for this very unfortunate action lies also, I believe, with the individuals who encouraged the people to enter this military compound. It is very unfortunate for everybody. The intention of the president of the republic and of the security forces was always to call for restraint, besides, the president was ready to welcome a delegation of these people who came to the palace, instead the crowd attempted to force the road blocks and this is why the security forces had no other option but to use their weapons.

[Grumberg] So all this seems very logical to you?

[Andreanawelson] Logical, no! Is there logic in a situation when people, who I believe are sensible, encourage a crowd to storm a heavily guarded military compound while negotiation offers have been made? It must not be forgotten that the President of the Republic has already accepted most of the opposition rally demands. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Opposition Calls For Strike; More Violence

AB1108124091 Paris AFP in English 1158 GMT
11 Aug 91

[Text] Antananarivo, Aug 11 (AFP)—Madagascar opposition leaders, addressing a huge rally here Sunday [11 August] after 18 demonstrators were reportedly shot dead, called for a general strike to force embattled President Didier Ratsiraka to resign.

Nearly two months of peaceful demonstrations organised by the opposition coalition Hery Velona, or Lifeblood Committee, ended on Sunday [as received] when Ratsiraka's elite North Korean-trained presidential guards opened fire and hurled grenades at some 400,000 unarmed demonstrators marching on the president's palace. The local branch of the Red Cross said its officials had counted 12 bodies in hospitals in the capital Antananarivo.

The Lifeblood Committee said in a communique read to tens of thousands of demonstrators in May 13 Square on Sunday that another six anti-government protestors had been killed by security forces in Mahajanga, 320 kilometres (200 miles) north-east of Antananarivo, on Saturday. No independent confirmation was available. But witnesses expressed fears that the final death toll could be much higher.

An Agence France-Presse photographer said unrest in the capital had continued late into the night Saturday as the presidential guards roamed the streets, hurling grenades at groups of opposition supporters. "There were several badly injured people in the streets," he said.

The Lifeblood communique called for "a general strike until the fall of Ratsiraka." Urging "intensified and continuous demonstrations" from Monday, it appealed to all workers in the public and private sector to strike.

Madagascar's already struggling economy has been badly hit in the past two months by strikes to press demands for Ratsiraka's resignation, while tourists have been deterred by the unrest. But the opposition had stopped short of an unlimited general strike which would paralyse this Indian Ocean island.

Rally on 11 Aug Reported To Pass Quietly

LD1108143391 Paris Radio France International
in French 1230 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] For the first time since the start of the crisis in Madagascar, soldiers belonging to Didier Ratsiraka's presidential guard have opened fire with live ammunition, using Kalashnikov rifles and throwing grenades from helicopters on a column of thousands of demonstrators gathered within the perimeter of the presidential palace. This caused a real blood bath. The latest toll gives 12 demonstrators killed and over 200 injured.

The coordination of the Malagasy opposition does not usually stage its daily rallies on Sundays; however, this time it called for a rally this morning at 13 May Square in the heart of Antananarivo. Jean Helene, you are with us on the line. First of all, give us an account of this morning's gathering:

[Helene] The crowd was quiet. The officials have even called on the crowd not to take revenge to preserve national unity.

[Announcer] But exactly Jean, is there not the risk that we might witness violent acts in retaliation for the killing of some demonstrators?

[Helene] It is to be feared. I mean, we can be a bit optimistic after this morning's gathering, during which we did not see excited people taking the microphone to try and arouse the crowd against such and such opposition or against any party close to the regime. But it is always to be feared, especially in the coming days when the regime could remain indifferent to the demands of the demonstrators. Some people might indeed lose patience.

[Announcer] Could the regular army distance itself from Ratsiraka's regime following the repression carried out by the presidential guard, which is, after all, distinct from the Army?

[Helene] This is what General Jean Akotoharison solemnly asked of the Army this morning. He told them: You have to choose now; it is either Admiral Ratsiraka, as the opposition calls him, or the people. So far, the Army has confined itself to a cautious neutrality. In my opinion, the Army does not want at all to get involved in this political conflict, although we have seen soldiers fraternizing with demonstrators in the past.

[Announcer] Could the Army remain passive for long just like that, without wanting to take sides?

[Helene] I think it is very possible. It considers that its role is not to try and decide or arbitrate this political conflict.

[Announcer] As regards the presidential guard, can we assume that it is staying really faithful to Didier Ratsiraka?

[Helene] I believe that is its mission; therefore, it is certainly not the presidential guard that will stay neutral or that will even fraternize or lean toward the opposition.

[Announcer] So, it remains Didier Ratsiraka's main defense?

[Helene] Yes, I believe that he made sure to be protected, and what is more, the palace he had built several years ago 10 km outside the capital, was also to put some distance between the residents of Antananarivo, who do not like the president very much, and himself.

[Announcer] The opposition staged a rally today. My last question is: Has Didier Ratsiraka spoken after the incidents?

[Helene] No, to my knowledge, there has been no reaction from the president. There was, however, a statement from the presidency this morning. This statement gave an account of the reaction of the presidential guard in the face of the advance of the demonstrators, saying that the presidential guard fired in the air and threw tear-gas grenades. At this morning's rally, the demonstrators were shocked because they know full well that people have been injured or killed with grenades or bullets.

[Announcer] From the point of view of Didier Ratsiraka's regime, the blame for yesterday's incidents is laid on the opposition. Thus, the new prime minister, Guy Razanamasy, states that he warned the opposition that there was a threshold that should not be crossed. [passage omitted]

Under the present circumstances, the prime minister, Guy Razanamasy, will find it difficult to form his government of national unity. Sophie Malibeu got in touch with the Malagasy prime minister and first asked him what sort of power he had in his hands in the present state of affairs:

[Begin recording] [Razanamasy] The (?reins) of power are at the moment restricted to one prime minister, since I was unable to come out with my government last Saturday. So, I am here a bit alone. What the regime is thinking is what I am thinking: If I am no longer able to assume [my responsibility] and avert a clash, I must draw the conclusions.

[Malibeu] In view of yesterday's events, do you think you will keep your post?

[Razanamasy] If I am no longer able to find a solution to the present situation, it seems that it would be honest on my part to go. [end recording] [passage omitted]

AFP Reports 'Shadow President' Remarks at Rally

*AB1108151591 Paris AFP in English 1418 GMT
11 Aug 91*

[Excerpts] Antananarivo, Aug 11 (AFP)—[passage omitted] The Lifeblood Committee said in a communique read to tens of thousands of demonstrators in May 13 Square on Sunday [11 August] that another six people had been killed by security forces in Mahajanga, 320 kilometres (200 miles) north-east of Antananarivo, on Saturday.

They gave no details, but witnesses contacted by telephone in Mahajanga said security forces there had opened fire on a crowd which had apparently taken advantage of the unrest to loot property. Witnesses in the capital expressed fears that the final death toll could be much higher. [passage omitted]

In Paris, the relief group Medecins du Monde said Sunday that it would send a medical team and supplies to Madagascar to help with emergency first aid. The group will fly out from the Indian Ocean island of Reunion. [passage omitted]

The "shadow president" named by the opposition, General Jean Rakotoharison, addressing the rally, called on the army to side with the opposition. "You must choose between Ratsiraka and the people," he said.

"There will be no government without the support of the Lifeblood Committee" which has named an alternative government, he added before the demonstrators dispersed peacefully early in the afternoon. The opposition wants a new government and the abrogation of Madagascar's Marxist constitution.

Rakotoharison said the presidential guard had fired on the demonstrators without first warning them to disperse.

He said demonstrations would be held every day. Until now, the opposition had refrained from taking to the streets on Sunday, preferring to pray for change. The violence prompted the powerful National Council of Christian Churches, which had previously remained neutral, to issue a statement in support of the peaceful opposition movement on Sunday.

There were fears of further clashes as opposition leaders appeared at Sunday's rally flanked by armed bodyguards, witnesses said.

"This is no longer the time of Hitler, and Madagascar is not Iraq to kill innocent people," said Rakotoharison, hardening his rhetoric against the Ratsiraka regime.

"From now on, we are enemies," he said, warning that security forces had been seen laying anti-personnel mines in the streets of Antananarivo.

Mozambique

Peace Talks Suspended, To Resume in Sep

MB1008065891 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0500 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Text] Delegations from the government and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] last night decided to suspend the seventh round of peace talks and return to the negotiating table next September.

In a telephone interview with Radio Mozambique, Transportation and Communications Minister Armando Guebuza said that the talks have been postponed because Renamo considers the document of principles proposed by the Italian mediators to be premature and uninteresting.

The government accepted the principles contained in the document which, among other things, provides for the recognition of the Mozambican state, the government,

and its laws by Renamo, as well as the government's recognition of Renamo as a party with a privileged status.

The transportation and communications minister, who is also the leader of the Mozambican Government delegation, said that these principles are essential in that, in his opinion, they aim at regulating the talks and the behavior of the parties during the negotiating process until the holding of elections and the announcement of their results. Minister Guebuza also said that such principles would bring about peace within a relatively short period, which is the government's main objective.

When asked if peace talks would be broken off if Renamo continued to reject the principles presented by the mediators, Guebuza expressed the hope that Renamo would reflect on its stand and bring a positive and enriching contribution to the next round of peace talks.

The government delegation leader said that Renamo's failure to recognize the Mozambican state is tantamount to invalidating the Lusaka accords signed with the Portuguese Government. He said that Renamo's disagreement with the government's policies should not lead it to place in doubt the existence of the Mozambican state, which is recognized by the entire international community.

In his interview, Armando Guebuza denied reports circulated by some Portuguese newspapers that Italy would abandon its mediatory role in favor of Portugal. He said that such reports have equally been denied by the Lisbon government.

As for the U.S. and Soviet roles in the Mozambican peace process, Minister Armando Guebuza said that although the two countries do not have a specific task, they can, in their capacity as superpowers, make a contribution. Accordingly, he said that the two countries' diplomatic missions have been holding contacts with the Renamo delegation in Rome.

Asked if the elections set for 1992 would be postponed, Minister Guebuza said it is desirable that they should take place in peace but that any decision on this would be made after consulting with other political parties in the country.

Minister Guebuza Discusses Rome Peace Talks

MB1008140091 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1130 GMT 10 Aug 91

[Telephone interview with Armando Guebuza, transportation and communications minister and leader of the government delegation to the peace talks, in Rome, by Orlanda Mendes in Maputo on 9 August—recorded]

[Text] [Mendes] First of all, Mr. Minister, I would like to thank you for having agreed to be interviewed by Radio Mozambique. I would like to ask you to tell us about the

present situation in the seventh round of peace talks between the Mozambican Government and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo].

[Guebuza] We have just concluded a working session with Renamo, at which we decided to suspend the peace talks; the talks will resume in Rome in September. The talks have been postponed because Renamo did not agree with the document of principles proposed by the mediators. This document regulates the behavior of both sides during the negotiating process until the holding of elections, and the announcement of their results. Renamo argues that the document is premature and uninteresting although it does not reject it.

For obvious reasons, the government agrees with the document inasmuch as it regulates the negotiating process and would bring about peace and tranquility within a relatively short period as is desired by all our people. Peace and tranquility are essential for increasing economic development and democracy.

[Mendes] Mr. Minister, you have just said that the talks would be resumed in September. Does this mean that Renamo will have a different attitude toward these principles by then?

[Guebuza] Well, we cannot guess what Renamo's stand will be in September. The government's stand, however, is clear. We are negotiating seriously. There are thousands of Mozambicans who continue to die for no reason. Our country is experiencing serious problems which can only be resolved after peace is achieved.

As I pointed out earlier, the document presented by the mediators will regulate the negotiating process. It will prevent problems such as those that we are currently facing whereby we are able to meet only once every 10 days, or to prolong the talks over a period which we are not sure it is justified. We began talks 13 months ago, and it should be expected that by now that we would have already examined those issues that divide the two delegations as well as to find mechanisms that permit Renamo to return to Mozambique and operate as a party. By now, we should have been able to silence our weapons and allow our people to exercise their freedom of speech, to uphold human rights, and to actively take part in the electoral process.

[Mendes] Mr. Minister, judging from the way the talks have been held over the past year or so, one cannot rule out the possibility of Renamo returning to the negotiating table with an attitude like the one it has been displaying. Will the Mozambican Government then decide then it is no longer possible to continue talking, or will it make any, quote, concessions, unquote, to Renamo?

[Guebuza] I have told you that we are concerned with the idea of regulating the talks, and that both sides should agree on how they should behave during the negotiating process. This is absolutely essential, otherwise we would be making efforts without knowing what we were aiming

at on a short or medium term basis. So, we believe that Renamo will think about its position, and will come back with constructive proposals likely to strengthen and enrich the principled document.

[Mendes] Regrettably, one could raise the possibility that the situation will be virtually deadlocked in September.

[Guebuza] Well, we cannot comment on that at this stage. We are negotiating in an open and flexible manner, and bent on finding a solution. As an example, I could point out the fact that the government delegation includes senior party officials who are here while a congress is being prepared at home. This clearly shows the goodwill of our delegation and government in finding a solution. We are open to other solutions to the conflict we are facing at home.

[Mendes] Do you believe that it is valid for Renamo to claim that further talks should resume once the Sixth Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Congress has been held?

[Guebuza] No, and we said so when we were asked to comment on this issue. We stated quite clearly that the Frelimo Party does not question the need for holding talks. So, we do not expect that the party will adopt a different attitude to the talks once the congress has been held. Actually, when the government delegation left Maputo it was aware of the possibility that its members would not be able to attend the congress. We told this to Renamo when the latter sought to use the question of the congress as a pretext for postponing the talks and [words indistinct].

[Mendes] It has been suggested that Renamo might want to disregard the principles that you have just outlined, and which you regard as fundamental for the continuation of talks. Furthermore, Renamo might want the United Nations to chair a possible political and military commission, and to register political parties once a cease-fire has been achieved. Mr. Minister, what do you think of Renamo's insistence in assigning such a role to the United Nations, notably its Security Council?

[Guebuza] There is a fundamental question here. Specifically, the signing of the Lusaka Accords granted independence and sovereignty to the Mozambican people as a whole. Through those accords Mozambique became a state. So, we have had a state and a government, and laws since 1975. In other words, this is a de jure recognition of that situation by various countries and international agencies. There are even accords that have been signed in view of that situation. So, it does not make sense that Renamo, or whoever it might be, should question a de facto situation. The fact that Renamo does not agree with the party and government policies does not mean that the Mozambican state is not an established institution. On the contrary, the state has always existed. What happens is that the government has introduced reforms permitting other political forces to operate on an equal footing with Frelimo. They can even form a government. So, it is not by denying the existence

of the Mozambique state that a solution to the dispute will be found. A solution to the current dispute must be reached on the basis of the recognition of that state and existing laws by all political parties.

[Mendes] Can the current pace of the talks have a negative impact on the mediators? It has been suggested in Portugal that if no significant progress is made by October or November, the Italian mediators could abandon their role. Is there any truth in this?

[Guebuza] Well, the mediators have not indicated that to us. In fact today, Mr. Raffaelli reiterated the Italy's intention of continuing to mediate until peace is achieved.

In fact I have learned through the Portuguese media that Lisbon could begin mediating as of October. This has, however, been denied by the Portuguese secretary of state for cooperation.

[Mendes] There are indications that Renamo is likely to continue adopting an unwavering position. Does the Mozambique Government foresee other alternatives to the situation?

[Guebuza] Well, we have to carefully assess the outcome of the current round of talks. Afterward, we can decide on other alternatives based on our assessment of the situation.

[Mendes] Do you think that the two superpowers could play a more significant and relevant role in the peace process? Do you think that such a role is not applicable to Mozambique? My question is based on what is happening in Angola.

[Guebuza] At the outset, we did not adopt an uncompromising position; quite the contrary. We have been very flexible, and have worked with the two superpowers and other countries so they may contribute to the peace process. The superpowers do not have a special status, and so far none of them has claimed such a status, notably as observers or mediators. Instead, they are willing to give us their contributions.

I would like to recall that a U.S. delegation visited Maputo recently and stated its willingness to approach Renamo to have a better understanding of the problems faced by that organization. In doing so, the U.S. delegation believed it would be contributing to the peace process. The same has happened since we our arrival in Rome. We have been in touch with the U.S. mission to the Vatican, as well as with the Soviet Embassy. Both missions have held talks with Renamo.

[Mendes] There is a view suggesting that the United States and the USSR have no means of playing a significant role because they cannot put pressure on Renamo, like they did with the Angolan Government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. Do you agree with that?

[Guebuza] Yes, and no. Yes, in the sense that the two superpowers do not have the same kind of links with the sides involved, unlike in the case of Angola. No, because they are two superpowers. In particular, the United States is a superpower that has been in contact with the situation at several levels. It has even met with Mr. Dhlakama on several occasions. This can be advantageous to the United States.

We have also to take into account the fact that in the world today the trend is to find peaceful solutions to conflicts. So, that is another element in favor of those forces willing to assist us in this process.

[Mendes] If the pace of the talks remains unchanged until 1992, it could have a negative impact on the holding of elections. Mr. Minister, do you think that the elections could be postponed once more, or will it be counterproductive?

[Guebuza] It is our wish that elections should be held when peace prevails in Mozambique.

[Mendes] If other parties are in favor of holding elections, would the government consider their views on this matter?

[Guebuza] Of course, the government will consider the views of other parties. The government's decision on this issue would be based on the views of those parties, but we want the elections to be held when there is peace in the country.

[Mendes] Would you like to add anything that could be useful to the listeners, namely for the understanding of the current talks with Renamo?

[Guebuza] Precisely, the effort currently being made by the government is aimed at attaining peace as soon as possible. The peace process should not be delayed, and the government is making efforts toward this goal. The government is very flexible, and is always searching for ways of finding solutions to the problems that may arise during this process. The government has even encouraged the idea that Renamo should have more public exposure in our country. For instance, we have encouraged that through the Joint Verification Commission. The idea is to facilitate contacts among Mozambicans. At present, such contacts only take place through the force of arms.

Unfortunately, at present, we find Renamo's attitude not very clear. We think that through the negotiating process, and through pressure exerted by Mozambican public opinion, Renamo could come to understand the need for peace. Peace cannot be achieved in the country through killing. Our people deserve to live in peace. Our people should not be dying by man-made causes. Our people deserve to live in tranquility to be able to build the future that they deserve.

[Mendes] Mr. Minister, one more question. Many comments are being made by the public and by people who are following this process closely that Renamo is not

willing to stand as a political party. They also say that Renamo is not ready to stand with other political forces in an electoral process, and that it would like to be in power, or to share power with other parties. Do you have any comments in this regard?

[Guebuza] This is a democratic process. Renamo claims to be a democratic force, and so it should abide by the rules of the game of democracy.

Interior Minister Detained for Questioning on Coup

MB1208071691 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0700 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Summary from poor reception] "Interior Minister Colonel Manuel Antonio has been detained for questioning" in connection with his involvement in the recent coup plot against the Mozambique Government.

Further on Detention of Antonio

MB1208081191 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0800 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] An official source has disclosed that Interior Minister Colonel Manuel Antonio has been in detention for questioning since yesterday. This follows investigations into the discovery of preparations for a coup d'etat.

A communique issued by the Mozambican authorities on 27 June announced the detention of 16 soldiers and civilians involved in the preparation of the coup d'etat. The communique mentioned the detention of Colonel General Sebastiao Mabote as one of the main leaders of the coup attempt.

In its communique, the government reiterated its appeal for vigilance against the type of action that is aimed at preventing efforts to deepen democracy, the attainment of a dignified, just, and lasting peace, and the normalization of the lives of all Mozambicans.

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